

CANADA'S

HISTORY MAGAZINE

The

Beaver

DECEMBER 2000 | JANUARY 2001 \$4.95

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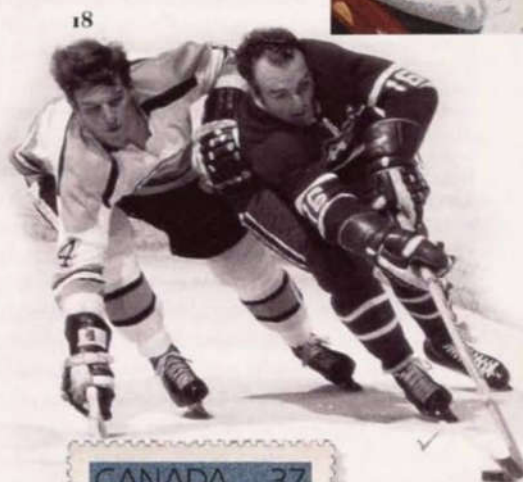
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The Beaver

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On the cover: Detail from *Père Raquette*, by A.Y. Jackson (1882–1974), gouache and watercolour over graphite on paper board, 80 x 64.6 cm, c.1921. Gift of Mr. S. Walter Stewart, McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1968.8.25.RV.

Background to battle

THE BATTLE BETWEEN MONTCALM AND WOLFE [August/September 2000] has forever been set out in Canadian history as a battle that "determined the fate of a new nation." I say not so. Maybe it was truly a significant element in our history, but the battle for this country was fought not on the Plains of Abraham but in Europe. Frederick the Great of Prussia would not entreat with the Marquise de Pompadour, who was a mistress of Louis XV and was essentially his foreign minister, if not his total government. Their conflict led to the Seven Years' War, where France sided with Austria, Russia, and latterly Spain against Britain and Prussia, the latter's efforts much supported by English money. It was settled in 1763 at the behest of George III by the Treaty of Paris, which ceded most of North America east of the Mississippi to Britain.

Paul Binkley
North Vancouver

RE: "MONTCALM AND WOLFE: THEN AND NOW" [August/September 2000]. Doug Alexander wrote: "Wolfe and his troops slipped upstream under cover of darkness in the early morning." There is some background about how he was able to accomplish this. There were sandy shoals in front of Quebec Citadel. Lieutenant James Cook of the British Navy had been surveying coastlines of Newfoundland and the Gaspé peninsula and was asked by Wolfe to survey those shoals so that his boats could get by them without making any noise; he did this. (Cook later became captain and sailed to the Pacific three times for which he seems to be better known.)

In my humble opinion, had it not been for the work Cook did, Anglo-Canada as we know it today would not exist.

Robert Bowley
Peterborough, Ontario

Peter Hatch
Hantsport, Nova Scotia

The price of progress

MY COMPLIMENTS to Elizabeth Haigh and Dorothy Pedersen for the excellent articles in the August/September issue on the "American" inventor Abraham Gesner and the Newfoundland pony. Both touched a familiar chord. While I had read previously about Mr. Gesner, this was the most informative and caused me to pause once again by his monument in Chipman Corner, which is on the road to our cottage at Baxter's Harbour on the Minas Basin. Sadly, although only about fifteen miles from the site, there are many even around here who lack the foggiest notion of who he was or what he did.

Growing up way back when in a small Conception Bay outport, our pony was Jack. Although he toiled hard, he was a gentle and sociable creature who was more like a family member than a work animal. It was he who hauled the "slide" through ten miles of February snowdrift to the cottage hospital when my mother needed an appendectomy and likewise for yours truly to have his tonsils removed. Cars, pick-ups, and ATVs are faster but I have yet to meet one with Jack's personality. The near demise of what was once such an integral part of our existence proves once again that progress has a price.

"Long may your big jib draw."

The Beaver welcomes readers' comments. E-mail us at <cnhs@historysociety.ca> or write to The Beaver, 478-167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3B 0T6. Please include your address and day-time phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

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A veteran's view

RE: THE ARTICLE "AFTERMATH" [October/November 2000], it is unfortunate that nobody asked a veteran for the real version of events.

I think we all found that, even though we had spent months in Italy and Germany—supposedly "hostile" countries—that true hostility was evident only in Canada: we might, when looking for a job, put some home-front type out on the street. As a sop, the government had decreed that all veterans were to be put only on pick-and-shovel jobs regardless of their qualifications. As for the insurance scheme—it was a real problem at times finding payments for "protection" that would now equal two months pension. And the "trim, attractive" houses were jerry-built boxes that I spent the first year or so repairing in a veterans' complex.

Once when taking a course in Canadian history, I departed from the text to answer questions from my own experience. The tutor told me I was to write only from the text, that my experience didn't count. From this article it appears he was right.

Hugh Kelley
Victoria, British Columbia

Which side is He on?

TWO ARTICLES in the October/November issue interested me, namely "Aftermath" and "The Guibord Affair." On the surface there is not the remotest connection, but a paragraph in each story is intriguing.

Buried in the "Aftermath" piece is the statement "the men who fought to defend liberty, Christianity, and western civilization." Whether the author is sarcastic, tongue-in-cheek, or in earnest is hard to deduce.

German soldiers in WWI had belt buckles inscribed *Gott mit Uns*—God with Us; both German and British padres urged their respective cannon-fodder on to the machine guns in the name of God. Our men were defending "Christianity"?!

In the Guibord article, we read "Pius had died and a new air of tolerance was blowing in the Holy See." Now whatever Rome is or is not, she is not tolerant. The Pope, or more accurately the Curia, has told us that there is no salvation outside of Rome.

It's always a tragedy when God is "used," as in South Africa, Ireland, Indonesia, the Middle East, and obviously in Canada.

Bernard Camper
Kelowna, British Columbia

The name game

WHY DOES THE MEDIA have such a compulsion to refer to William Aberhart as Bible Bill ["Roads and Recall," August/September 2000]? Do articles about Canada's longest reigning prime minister doggedly label him, justifiably one might say, as Weird Willie?

During his lifetime Mr. Aberhart was not widely known as Bible Bill. Long before 1935, his Crescent Heights High School students, of whom I was one, had already coined a popular nickname for our principal. We called him Abie.

Olive S. Hamilton
Edmonton, Alberta

Two cents' worth

THE ARTICLE "OLD MONEY" by Adrienne Leduc [August/September 2000] points out beads, beaver pelts, and playing cards as early forms of currency.

I contribute to the list mentioned a paper currency called a "shinplaster." These measured roughly 2 1/2" x 4 1/2" and were worth twenty-five cents. I have two, one dated January 2, 1900 and the other, July 2, 1923. They both show J.C. Saunders as deputy minister of finance.

James H. Nash
Folly Beach, South Carolina

A right dinkum Aussie

THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLE "A Daring Young Man in His Flying Machine" [June/July 2000] stated that Harry Yates's record stood for seven years before being broken by England's Kingsford Smith.

Charles Kingsford Smith, affectionately known as Smithy and later Sir Charles, was born in Brisbane, Australia. He was, and is, a household name in Australia, best known for his exploits in the Fokker Tri motor "Southern Cross." This aircraft is now housed in a purpose-built hangar at Brisbane airport where it first touched down on Australian soil on June 9, 1928 after the first air crossing of the Pacific. He then made a return trip across the Tasman to New Zealand—a first. In June 1929, Smithy flew the SC to England in a record flying time of thirteen days. In July he flew the SC to Amsterdam where it was left in the care of the Fokker Company. After a return trip home by sea, the crew retrieved the SC in June 1930 and flew the first east/west crossing of the Atlantic. A few days later they continued on to Oakland, their starting point in 1928, thereby completing the first genuine aerial circumnavigation of the globe in one aircraft. Nine men had crewed the SC during this performance, but only one continuously present pilot—Charles Kingsford Smith.

Smithy could not have broken the record at the time stated because he and a fellow flyer, Keith Anderson, had operated a road transport business in Western Australia from July 1924 to November 1926, to raise money to fly the Pacific from the USA to Australia.

On August 17, 1926, Sir Alan Cobham, an Englishman, arrived at Essendon airport, Melbourne, in a DH .50 aircraft, after a record flight from London, to be met by a crowd of approximately one hundred thousand. Would he be the Englishman referred to in the article?

Bob Taylor
Maleny, Australia

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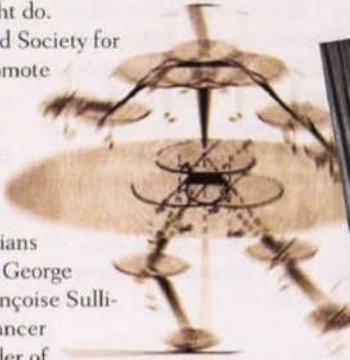
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Shall we dance?

On a bright cloud of music, shall we fly?
Well, perhaps not. Too exhausting.
Shall we write about dance? On a bright sheet
of paper, shall we scribble? We might do.

One of the mandates of the recently formed Society for Canadian Dance Studies is to preserve and promote Canadian dance history, which, its organizers believe, has tended to be neglected. Because writing is not integral to their art form, dancers and choreographers themselves often overlook recording their experiences, and then there is the good old colonial mentality wherein Canadians know well such names as Martha Graham and George Balanchine but know little, for instance, of Françoise Sullivan, innovative Montreal choreographer and dancer in the 1940s and 1950s, or David Earle, cofounder of and moving force behind the Toronto Dance Theatre. To help rectify this, the SCDS is seeking submissions on Canadian dance history in either English or French to be published on its website <<http://www.SCDS-SECD.50megs.com>> with subsequent publication on CD-ROM. A print publication is in the planning stages.



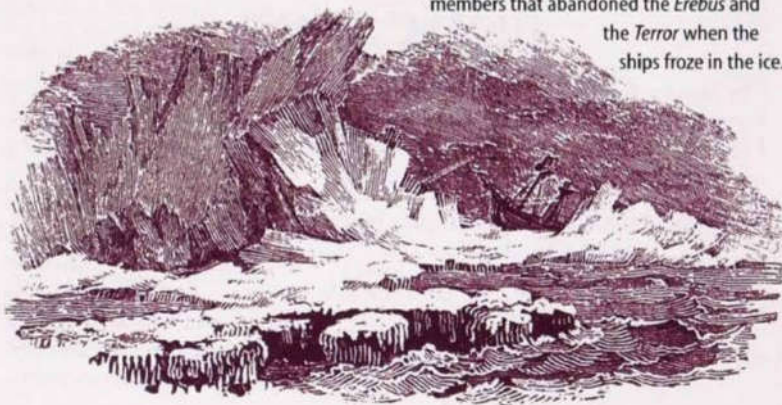
Grave news

Yes, more human remains of the ill-fated Franklin expedition have been found in the Arctic. In the 153 years since Sir John Franklin and his crew perished in their search for the Northwest Passage, the bodies of about thirty crew members have been found by the many search expeditions. Now add another five.

A British Columbia expedition in the Arctic aboard the icebreaker *Simon Fraser* and the *St. Roch II*, which is reenacting the historic twentieth-century voyages of the *St. Roch*, made the discovery late summer on

Keeuna, one of the Todd Islands, near King William Island, where the Franklin expedition met its end in 1847. According to news reports, Inuit residents of the area have known of the graves for some time, but only recently decided to make them more widely known. Four of the five graves remained untouched, but one, unearthed by Arctic foxes, revealed a skull, some bones, and fragments of a uniform.

It is speculated that the graves mark the final resting place of a small party that separated from the main group of 105 crew members that abandoned the *Erebus* and the *Terror* when the ships froze in the ice.



Trudeaumania redux

The postcards started to arrive in late summer. Each featured a photograph of Pierre Elliott Trudeau at some moment in his prime ministership – with his young sons at a Remembrance Day service, with the Queen at the signing of the Constitution, with a camera, photo-

graphing the photographers who were a constant presence in a public life. The last postcard proclaimed *Trudeau Albums*, an omnium gatherum of those very photos taken by those very busy

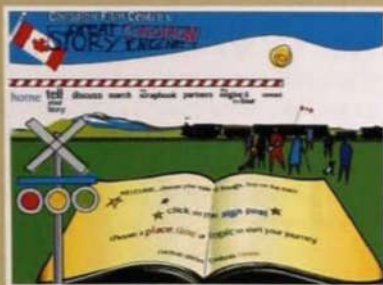
photographers,

"hottest gift book of the year." In mid-September, when we received the book, this publicist's claim seemed a bit premature, given that it had yet to go on sale. But on September 28 the universe unfolded (though not necessarily as it should), and so, we daresay, *Trudeau Albums* likely is the hottest gift book of the year. In retrospect, the book's simple black cover seems both prescient and thoughtful.

Trudeau Albums is primarily a visual biography, divided chronologically into six sections or "albums" each of which concentrates on a period of his life and a period in twentieth-century Canadian history. Of the three hundred photos, a hundred have never before been published. Deep captions provide context for the pictures with additional perspective brought to the life and times of the fifteenth prime minister through essays by such writers of note as Peter Gzowski, Mordecai Richler, Jack Granatstein, and Ann Kingston.

Trudeau Albums was to have been in stores last fall to coincide with Trudeau's eightieth birthday, but was postponed due to the death of his son Michel. Indeed, one of the last pictures in the book is a particularly moving one of Trudeau, looking very frail, with Margaret and their two remaining sons leaving the memorial service. One imagines, had *Trudeau Albums* been postponed another year, what other pictures might have been included.





Website of the month

Everyone has a story to tell. Or so they say. Frankly, we're holding out for a lucrative publishing deal that will eventually lead to an appearance on Oprah and a major motion picture before we spill the beans about our life, but the rest of you, if you choose, can relate your personal history (or family history) on a new website designed to encourage Canadians to tell their stories and contribute to a kind of permanent on-line collective memory. On the Great Canadian Story Engine (www.storyengine.ca), you tell your story the good old Gutenbergian way – by type – or you can contribute an audio file – by leaving a voice recording. You can also post pictures. A useful storytelling tutorial steers you through the technical details of posting words, sound, and pictures, and also gives guidance to the craft of storytelling itself. No surprise Norman Jewison's Canadian Film Centre is the developer – potential contributors learn all about such storytelling virtues as "pacing" and "voice." With bags o'links, including the CBC (www.cbc.ca), which has contributed some of its own audio files, the Great Canadian Story Engine seems like a cyberarchive with potential. To which we say, for no apparent reason, chool! chool!

Get me rewrite!

Last the world knew, Sir Francis Drake, on his epic global circumnavigation, paused in the fall of 1579 to refresh along the west coast of North America somewhere north of present-day San Francisco – the farthest north he sailed – before continuing west across the Pacific Ocean and eventually home to England.



Not so, says British Columbia geographer Samuel Bawlf, who has spent the last five years reviewing Elizabethan documents and maps to support a new hypothesis of Drake's west coast voyage. Writing in the *Vancouver Sun*, Bawlf argues that Drake spent the summer months of 1579 exploring the B.C. coast on a clandestine mission for England, the details of which were so vital to English commercial and political interests a conspiracy was hatched at the highest levels of society to keep the truth a secret – a conspiracy so successful its truths remained hidden for another four centuries.

According to Bawlf, a B.C. cabinet minister from 1975 to 1986, Drake was in search of a western entrance to the critically important Northwest Passage.

To accomplish that, he sailed up the west coast as far north as the Alaska Panhandle, turned south through the Strait of Georgia and into Puget Sound before departing for the coast of Oregon. Along the way, he found the crucial straits of the Inside Passage and the most important islands in B.C.'s archipelago. Bawlf also argues that the Nova Albion Drake claimed for Queen Elizabeth I, generally considered to be in the San Francisco Bay area, is in fact the east coast of Vancouver Island. In effect, the first European sighting of British Columbia occurred two centuries earlier than previously thought – a challenge to commonly held assumptions about European exploration on Canada's west coast.

After Drake returned to England, his new understanding about North American geography was encrypted into maps and codified in documents to prevent the contents from falling into the hands of the spies for England's chief rival for maritime power, King Philip of Spain. Drake's original charts and journal were lost, however, but details were preserved in maps made by others to whom information had been leaked. Much of Bawlf's work consisted of decoding these maps to determine the true geographic significance of their details.

Bawlf's new approach to Drake's west coast voyage has been well received by historians and geographers, who applauded the thoroughness of the research. A wider public will have a chance to judge when Bawlf's book, scheduled for publication in Canada by Douglas & McIntyre, appears in bookstores likely sometime in 2002.

Take the day off

December 11: To honour the 1931 Statute of Westminster, a British law which granted Canada full legal freedom. Sign something.

December 24: To reflect on the 1814 end of the War of 1812. Tell an American who won.

January 11: To celebrate the 1815 birth of Sir John A. Macdonald. Imbibe.

January 22: To observe the one hundredth anniversary of the 1901 death of Queen Victoria. Frown and wear black.

The envelope, please

The Town of Markham (tears, applause) would like to thank its mom and dad and God, of course – but above all, it would like to thank its agent. Oh, and the Heritage Canada Foundation, too. Winning the Prince of Wales Prize means that you like Markham, you really like it!

Eight other Canadian municipalities vied for the Prince of Wales Prize, instituted in 1999 by the Heritage Canada Foundation to award a deserving local government that showed exemplary commitment to the preservation of the built heritage. But Markham, a town within the great swell of the Toronto megapolis, won for its ability to conserve heritage properties and districts in the face of rapid growth and strong development pressures over the last two decades. Hooray for Markham.



Guns & the Law

The modern idea that private ownership of firearms constitutes an unacceptable threat to the safety and security of Canadians would have seemed little short of bizarre to our eighteenth- and nineteenth-century forebears.

One of the more controversial legacies of the twentieth century in Canada has been increased legislative controls on the private ownership and use of firearms. Despite the politically perilous nature of such initiatives—the 1977 legislation generated more letters to the federal government than any other issue in Canadian political history besides capital punishment—Liberal and Conservative governments introduced and passed new and more stringent controls in this area on no fewer than four occasions between 1968 and 1995. Those initiatives sparked heated political debates, pitting Westerners against Central Canadians, urban Canadians against rural Canadians, women against men, and provincial governments against the federal government and each other. The century closed with an unsuccessful constitutional challenge to the new laws in the Supreme Court of Canada. Yet still, no one is satisfied. Proponents of gun control complain that the new laws are not strict enough. Opponents bemoan what they regard as expensive and ineffective interferences in the liberty of citizens and unreasonable government impositions on law-abiding and “responsible” gun owners.

The current debates, however, make almost no reference to the long history of firearms regulation in Canada that stretches back well before Confederation in 1867. Yet the history has a lot to tell us. It provides, for instance, a context for understanding the profound and conspicuous ambivalence that has pervaded recent debates about guns, gun owners, and gun use here—an ambivalence that arises from competing influences of geography, politics, economics, demography, and culture.

From the very earliest days of European settlement in North America, the guns new immigrants brought with them were regarded as essential for security and survival. Guns provided an efficient means of protecting oneself from dangerous predators and political enemies in an often inhospitable wilderness where assistance was frequently many days away. In addition, of course, guns were used to hunt for food (although in time their excessive use in commercial hunting posed a threat to the continued survival of the very animals, such as bison, which had sustained indigenous populations for centuries before the Europeans arrived). The premier of Ontario, then, was not far off the mark when he recently contended that

hunting and firearms have been an essential element of Canada's heritage. The modern idea that private ownership of firearms constitutes an unacceptable threat to the safety and security of Canadians would have seemed little short of bizarre to our eighteenth- and nineteenth-century forebears.

In fact, in those times, private firearms ownership was generally regarded as essential to defend the new nation against external aggression and to protect the citizenry against internal tyranny. While the “right to bear arms” is now usually thought of as a peculiarly American obsession, its English origins are frequently overlooked. Incorporated in England's *Bill of Rights* in 1689, the right of citizens to bear arms was later described by Sir William Blackstone, in his famous *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), as one of the fundamental liberties of an Englishman. No doubt most early British settlers in Canada shared this view. With neither a standing army nor a modern police force, both personal and national security depended on the private ownership of firearms. National security, however, was where Canada's first laws regulating private ownership of firearms were directed.

Highly vulnerable to both external aggression and internal rebellion, the young colonies spawned a legislative ambivalence towards the private ownership of firearms that persisted throughout the nineteenth century. On one hand, legislators recognized that a well-armed, volunteer civilian militia was vital to the defence of the colo-

nies, particularly from invasion and annexation from the new American nation to the south. On the other hand, they were concerned that such training might support those seeking to overthrow rather than defend the established government, or to attack public works and institutions. So after the Rebellion of 1837, the government passed *An Act to prevent the unlawful training of persons in Military evolutions, and the use of Fire Arms, and to authorize the seizure of Fire Arms collected for purposes dangerous to the public peace*. The act was modelled on similar British legislation passed in 1819 to respond to civil unrest in England. The legislation was proclaimed again during the Fenian raids in 1866, and reenacted by the new federal Parliament in 1867.

The government also responded to the role of firearms in religious and ethnic conflicts that settlers brought with them from Europe. In 1869, for instance, following disturbances involving Irish labourers working on waterways construction, Parliament enacted *An Act for the Better Preservation of Peace in the vicinity of Public Works*. This allowed magistrates to prohibit possession of firearms on or near such works. In 1878, in response to Orange Day riots in Montreal, it enacted *An Act for the better prevention of crimes of violence in certain parts of Canada, until the next session of Parliament*. A temporary measure, renewed annually until 1883, the statute applied only to "proclaimed districts" considered trouble spots, such as Montreal in 1878, Quebec City in 1879, and Winnipeg in 1882. Because the act provided for the licensing of firearms owners in the areas in which it was in force, it foreshadowed by a hundred years the licensing scheme introduced during the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Early firearms legislation in Canada was thus directed to thwart political unrest, internal rebellion, and external aggression. Ordinary crime was not addressed by regulatory legislation until 1877 with *An Act to make provision against the improper use of firearms*. This act, like its counterparts a century later, generated heated controversy. It stated that anyone who had

without reasonable cause to fear an assault or other injury to his person or his family or property, may ... be required to find sureties for keeping the peace for a term not exceeding six months, and in default of finding such sureties may be imprisoned in any gaol or place of confinement for a term not exceeding thirty days.

It also established separate offences for being armed with a pistol or airgun while committing an offence, "or with intent therewith unlawfully and maliciously to do injury to any other person." In introducing this legislation in the House, the minister of justice commented that "there could be no doubt that the practice of carrying firearms was becoming all too common."

The parliamentary debate over the 1877 act bears an uncanny resemblance to gun-control debates a hundred years later. Members saw the world divided into "rowdy and reckless characters, and boys and young men" on the one hand, whose access to firearms needed to be controlled, and "sober, law-abiding citizens" and "nervous people and good citizens" on the other, whose right to carry firearms for self-protection should not be restricted. A century later, a similar dichotomy, between "criminals" and "responsible gun owners," framed debates about gun-control laws. Sir John A. Macdonald worried that the proposed law "might have the effect of disarming the person who ought to be armed, and arming the rowdies." Nevertheless, the act was passed, and when it was incorporated into the new *Criminal Code* in 1892, provision was made for "certificates of exemption" to be issued by justices of the peace, foreshadowing "permits to carry" handguns that were subsequently introduced in the twentieth century.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Parliament passed numerous gun-control measures. Most of these, however, like most of those in the nineteenth century, aimed to deny access to firearms to "aliens" (especially "enemy aliens" during times of war) and supposed subversives (which usually meant communists, Bolsheviks,

and their sympathizers), rather than common criminals or persons of unsound mind. During the Second World War, fear of "enemies from within," as well as a need to ensure an adequate supply of small arms for the war effort, led to a short-lived (1940–1945) requirement for universal registration of all privately owned firearms, including recreational long guns (hunting rifles and shotguns). In the wake of an assassination attempt against President Roosevelt, the Canadian Parliament, hurriedly and with little debate, introduced mandatory registration of handguns in 1933. These measures were primarily directed to protect national security rather than suppress firearms use in "ordinary" crime. Police expressed concerns about the increased workload and doubts about the law's efficacy in deterring or preventing crime.

Later in the 1930s and 1940s, with organized crime stronger in the wake of Prohibition and with soldiers returning from war, the government introduced strict controls over automatic weapons as well as concealable sawn-off firearms, despite the lack of evidence that they were actually being used for criminal purposes in Canada.

It was not until the 1960s that the rationale for gun control in Canada shifted significantly from national security to the prevention and reduction of criminal misuse, suicides, and accidents. Some of the measures introduced during the last twenty-five years, such as licensing and screening of firearms owners and registration of firearms themselves, had been tried before in Canada. However, their effectiveness in preventing or reducing "ordinary" criminal and other civilian misuse of firearms had not been clearly demonstrated.

Despite a substantial history of firearm regulation in Canada, public ambivalence persists. Whether such measures can prevent and reduce "ordinary" civilian misuse of firearms remains unknown. Unfortunately, public debates about this do not seem to have progressed much during the last hundred years or so. ■

Philip C. Stenning is associate professor at the Centre of Criminology at the University of Toronto.

upon his person a pistol or air gun



The Fate of the Defendants of Fort Latour, 1645, by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1920.

After an earlier attack on Fort La Tour had failed, Charles d'Aulnay – learning that his enemy Charles de La Tour had gone to Boston – attacked with cannons and a force estimated at two hundred men, on April 13, 1645. Françoise-Marie, Charles's wife, with an estimated forty-five defenders, held d'Aulnay off for four days. The fort was overtaken when La Tour's watchman betrayed the fort's resting soldiers, allowing d'Aulnay's men to come over the walls. In one last melee, Françoise led her men against the attackers, surrendering only when d'Aulnay granted "quarter to all." D'Aulnay, however, went back on his word, hanging all but two of La Tour's men.

Private War Over Acadia

by André Pelchat

Acadia is a corruption of the word "arcadia" – a sort of earthly paradise. But life in Acadia in the early seventeenth century wasn't Edenic while its governors, Charles d'Aulnay and Charles de La Tour, were at each other's throats. At stake were furs and land, and when the king split the territory in two and put the capital of one in the fiefdom of the other, things turned from bad to worse.

In May 1650, Charles Menou d'Aulnay had been for fifteen years the master of Acadia, with the title of "gouverneur dans toute l'Acadie, du Saint-Laurent à la mer, jusqu'en Virginie" (governor in all Acadia, from the Saint Lawrence to the sea, down to Virginia). The New England settlers might not have agreed with the last part of this rather high-sounding title, but d'Aulnay didn't care. Cardinal Richelieu himself had given him power over the colony, and the cardinal's successor, Mazarin, upheld the decision. In the colonial hierarchy of French Canada, only the governor of Quebec could pretend to stand above d'Aulnay, who held a monopoly over all trade along the coast of the Gaspé peninsula and of Acadia, as well as in Île Royale (Cape Breton Island), Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island), and in the area after 1629 called Maine.

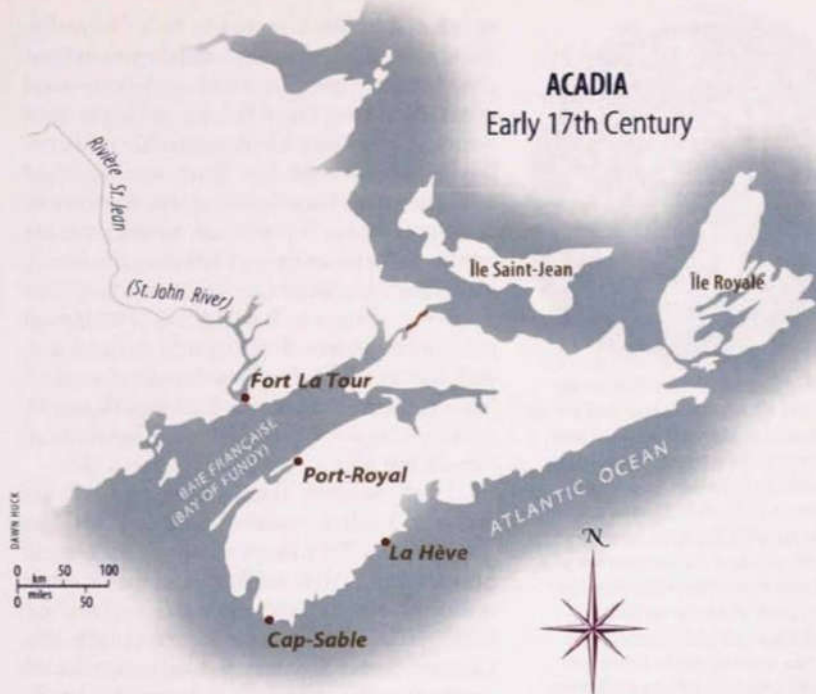
Sieur d'Aulnay had fought hard to get there. He had lied, killed, and cheated. All his actions had been directed against one man: Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour, who had sought refuge in Quebec and didn't dare show himself in Acadia.

D'Aulnay's power was unchecked; he was lord and master of Acadia. On May 24, when he stepped into a canoe paddled by Micmac warriors to go on a tour of inspection of his domain, he had no worries. But he should have. There were only about three hundred French settlers in the colony. Acadia was, by and large, the territory of the Micmac and Maleseet, and to them, d'Aulnay was an ally and a trade partner. Whatever his title, he was certainly no master. His power rested in diplomacy, not in authority.

But diplomacy was not among d'Aulnay's gifts, and he died for lack of it. A few days earlier, for a trivial reason, he had slapped a young Micmac warrior in the face. D'Aulnay quickly forgot the episode, but the young man didn't forget his humiliation. When d'Aulnay's canoe capsized after venturing into white water, the warrior failed to come to his rescue. After an hour and a half struggling in icy water, d'Aulnay drowned.

As soon as the news of d'Aulnay's untimely death reached Quebec, his archrival, Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour, began to pack for his triumphant return to Acadia. A private war, worthy of Middle Ages robber barons, had come to an end.

It started, as did so many things Canadian, with the fur trade. And the fur trade was about hats. At the beginning of the



seventeenth century, beaver hats were becoming the standard fashion item for European gentlemen of means. (One could not imagine a Cyrano or a D'Artagnan without a large hat.) The hats were costly to buy, but very profitable for their makers. With North America filled with beavers, the rush to trap and trade them soon began to drive colonial economies. When Champlain and Du Gua du Monts came to the Acadian coast in 1604 to build the first permanent trading post, they met English ships already trading with the Micmac. In 1621, Scotland's Sir William Alexander convinced King James I to grant him a monopoly on the Acadian trade, and started selling titles of "Knight Baronet of Nova Scotia" to any of his friends willing to buy them along with pieces of real estate. Cardinal Richelieu's retort to the English was to create the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, also known as the Hundred Associates, granting Acadia, and Canada, to one hundred lucky Frenchmen. When the British took over Acadia in 1629, Scottish settlers came, but when the colony reverted to France in 1632 the Scots were expelled.

In 1633 jurisdiction over Acadia was divided between two lieutenant governors



Charles de Menou d'Aulnay (above, right) began his career in Acadia as lieutenant to his cousin, governor Isaac de Razilly. On Razilly's death, he assumed his responsibilities under the authority of Razilly's brother, but was faced with jurisdictional disputes over ill-defined territories within the colony. Though backed by the French court, his attempts to take over the interests of Charles de La Tour were met with huge resistance, culminating with d'Aulnay's capture of Fort Latour in 1645. D'Aulnay would later consolidate his power in Acadia, and became governor in 1647. Though considered ruthless in war, d'Aulnay was recognized as a great colonizer, bringing over settlers and developing agriculture, a lumber trade, and a fishery.



Seal of Charles de Saint Étienne de La Tour. Charles de La Tour had arrived in Acadia as a boy of fourteen, later assuming the interests of governor Charles de Biencourt following his death in 1623. In 1632, after a skirmish with the Scots, Isaac de Razilly was sent out as governor and the two men worked together once the extent of their respective territories had been clarified. But La Tour would come to blows with Razilly's successor, Charles d'Aulnay, fighting him for the next decade. La Tour's relationship with New England interests would jeopardize his standing in the French court, and he would lose his posts, his loyal wife Françoise Marie, and the remainder of his holdings by 1645. With d'Aulnay's death in 1650, an inquiry named d'Aulnay the aggressor, and exonerated La Tour, reinstating his property and governorship. He died in 1666.

appointed by the *Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*. Isaac de Razilly, a military man, was given control over La Hève and Port-Royal in what is now Nova Scotia, and over the Sainte-Croix area of western New Brunswick. Charles de La Tour was granted authority over Cap-Sable at the southwestern tip of Nova Scotia, and establishments on the Saint John River, including the newly built Fort La Tour (sometimes known as Fort Ste. Marie). Razilly was interested mainly in lumber, fishing, and agriculture, and recruited about three hundred settlers from western France. La Tour was drawn to trading furs with the Micmac. The lords of Acadia got along well together.

Then, in 1635, Razilly died and left his domain to his cousin, Charles Menou d'Aulnay. La Tour knew d'Aulnay and hated him so much that he had refused to serve under him in a previous fight against the English. Some historians speculate the enmity arose from d'Aulnay's territorial ambitions. When d'Aulnay moved his headquarters to Port-Royal and started to trade with the Micmac, things quickly turned so sour that the king himself had to intervene. In 1638, Louis XIII ordered the profits from the trade to be divided equally between the two adversaries. He also split the territory. Except for Fort La Tour, what is now New Brunswick went to d'Aulnay. Meanwhile, La Tour got Nova Scotia except Port-Royal, which stayed with d'Aulnay. In short, each man's headquarters was in the middle of the other's fiefdom. What's more, the king decided that each one of them would have a say in the other's administration. It appeared no one in Paris knew anything about the geography of Acadia. The situation deteriorated, and Acadia became a powder keg. D'Aulnay, showing his determination to stay in the colony, married Jeanne Motin, daughter and sister-in-law of colleagues, who came to live with him at Port-Royal. Not losing any time, La Tour married Françoise-Marie Jacquelin, who was to become famous as Marie La Tour.

In 1639, La Tour, angry that d'Aulnay now had jurisdiction over the Saint John River area where *he* had controlled trade and built his post, went to Port-Royal with some of his men and challenged d'Aulnay's right to trade. Arguing among employees and soldiers led to shoving, then fighting and, finally, the death of one of La Tour's men. La Tour arrested the suspects and took them in chains to his territory, where he had them jailed. He returned to Port-Royal and, in a heated exchange with d'Aulnay, came close to a duel.

Considering La Tour an upstart, D'Aulnay went to Paris and denounced his enemy, accusing him of being a little too friendly with the New England Puritans. This wasn't completely untrue. La Tour *did* trade with Bostonians and owed some of them a lot of money. As well, La Tour's father, Claude, had bought a knight-baronet title in the time of William Alexander. It could be argued that for La Tour, Acadia's ownership was immaterial—his interests were protected on both sides of the Channel. His loyalty could therefore be viewed as dubious.

La Tour was no match for d'Aulnay, who came from a richer and more prestigious family, and had better contacts at court. Early in 1641, D'Aulnay got permission to arrest his rival and take over all Acadia; La Tour was ordered to travel to France to explain himself. But La Tour, having none of it, sought refuge with his family at Fort La Tour. D'Aulnay and his men then burned La Tour's other post at Cap-Sable.

It was war.

While her husband remained in Acadia in defiance of the king's order, in September 1642 Françoise-Marie sailed for France to plead her husband's case. She was able to gain some concessions and returned with a warship, ammunitions, supplies, and 140 men.

On her return, Françoise-Marie found the Bay of Fundy blockaded by three of d'Aulnay's well-armed ships and five hundred men. La Tour was able to make his way to his wife's ship, and they were forced to sail south to Boston. The Boston merchants made another investment in La Tour's venture and leased him four ships, a crew, and more soldiers. In August of 1643, this new expedition sailed to Fort La Tour and battled d'Aulnay's forces, driving them to the other side of the Bay of Fundy. With her husband having gained the upper hand in Acadia, Françoise-Marie sailed for France to enlist support, as d'Aulnay was again out to discredit his enemy.

But this time Mme. La Tour was met with harsh orders: to remain in France on pain of death, and to send for her husband to explain himself. D'Aulnay, meanwhile, was given the edict to control La Tour's fort. After sending a message to her husband that his enemy had again bested him at court, Mme. La Tour escaped in disguise to England, where she chartered a ship to take her home. But she and the ship's captain did not get along. The skipper was particularly vexed when the fiery Frenchwoman refused him time to fish near Newfoundland en

route from Europe. Instead of taking her to Fort La Tour, he sailed to Boston, and deposited her there. She sued him for delays and failure to deliver her to her destination, and finally, in December 1644, won. The compensation was enough to allow her to buy supplies, weapons, and ammunition and to go back to Fort La Tour.

In 1645, Charles La Tour went to Boston on a business trip. Françoise-Marie stayed behind in Fort La Tour. Spies quickly sent word to d'Aulnay that the fort was defended by only a woman and forty-five men. In April, d'Aulnay appeared in front of the fort with a sixteen-gun frigate and a large force. He expected to see a white flag raised but was disappointed. Françoise-Marie had decided to resist and lead her meagre forces in battle. Unimpressed by the enemy's artillery and muskets, she showed herself atop the wall, challenging d'Aulnay and encouraging her men. After a three-day siege, a Swiss mercenary in her troop swapped loyalties and allowed d'Aulnay's soldiers to open a breach in the fortifications. Françoise-Marie led the attempt to repel the assault in close-quarter fighting.

D'Aulnay sent her a message: her situation was desperate; if she would surrender, he would spare everyone's life; he gave his word as a gentleman. She accepted, and surrendered the fort. As soon as he was inside, d'Aulnay had the remaining defenders hanged, forcing Françoise-Marie to stare at the grisly scene, a rope around her neck. The shock was too much. Within three weeks, she was dead.

D'Aulnay sailed back to Port-Royal. Soon, an edict from the king confirmed him as "gouverneur de l'Acadie, du Saint-Laurent à la mer, jusqu'en Virginie."

In Boston, when La Tour learned the news, he quickly sailed to Quebec and sought refuge in the Jesuit monastery. The fathers interceded for him with the governor, who granted him his personal protection. Though ruined and a widower, La Tour remained undaunted. He returned to the fur trade in Quebec, but he kept his eye on Acadia. When d'Aulnay drowned in 1650, La Tour immediately sailed for France to plead his case at court. He was jailed because of considerable unpaid debts, but under the advice of Cardinal Mazarin, Richelieu's successor, the young King Louis XIV pardoned him.

La Tour returned to Acadia, this time as lieutenant-governor.

There was another problem, however. When d'Aulnay died, he left a mountain of

debt, and one of his creditors, Emmanuel Le Borgne, laid claim to Acadia. Fighting him in court, Jeanne Motin, d'Aulnay's widow, demanded at least one half of the Acadian domain. When the case lingered and fees mounted, she declared she would share half her heritage with any man who would support her claim.

Such a man came forward to rescue the lady in distress, none other than Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour. In 1653, when she married him, her dowry was Fort La Tour, the very fort in which Françoise-Marie Jacquelin had fought and died eight years before.

Meanwhile, Le Borgne kept fighting in the French courts, and eventually won a judgment acknowledging him as d'Aulnay's legitimate heir. To no avail. Oliver Cromwell, who had seized power in England, had instructed a British fleet under the command of Robert Sedgwick to take power in Acadia. La Tour, no match for Sedgwick's three ships and five hundred men, surrendered and was taken to England as prisoner. Le Borgne had no choice but to return to France, empty-handed.

As his father's heir to the baronetcy of Nova Scotia, La Tour was granted control over eastern and southern Acadia by Parliament, provided he declare English allegiance and repay his Boston creditors. Although loathe to betray his king, La Tour had little choice but to accept. To raise funds to pay his debts, La Tour entered into partnership with two Englishmen, Sir William Crowne and Sir Thomas Temple. He quietly returned to Cap-Sable in Acadia with his family, then sold most of his rights and properties to his two partners, which left him sufficient revenues without involving himself in future conflicts. Temple became governor of the colony.

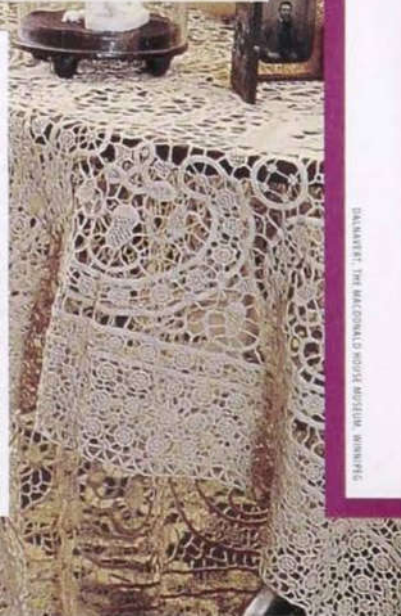
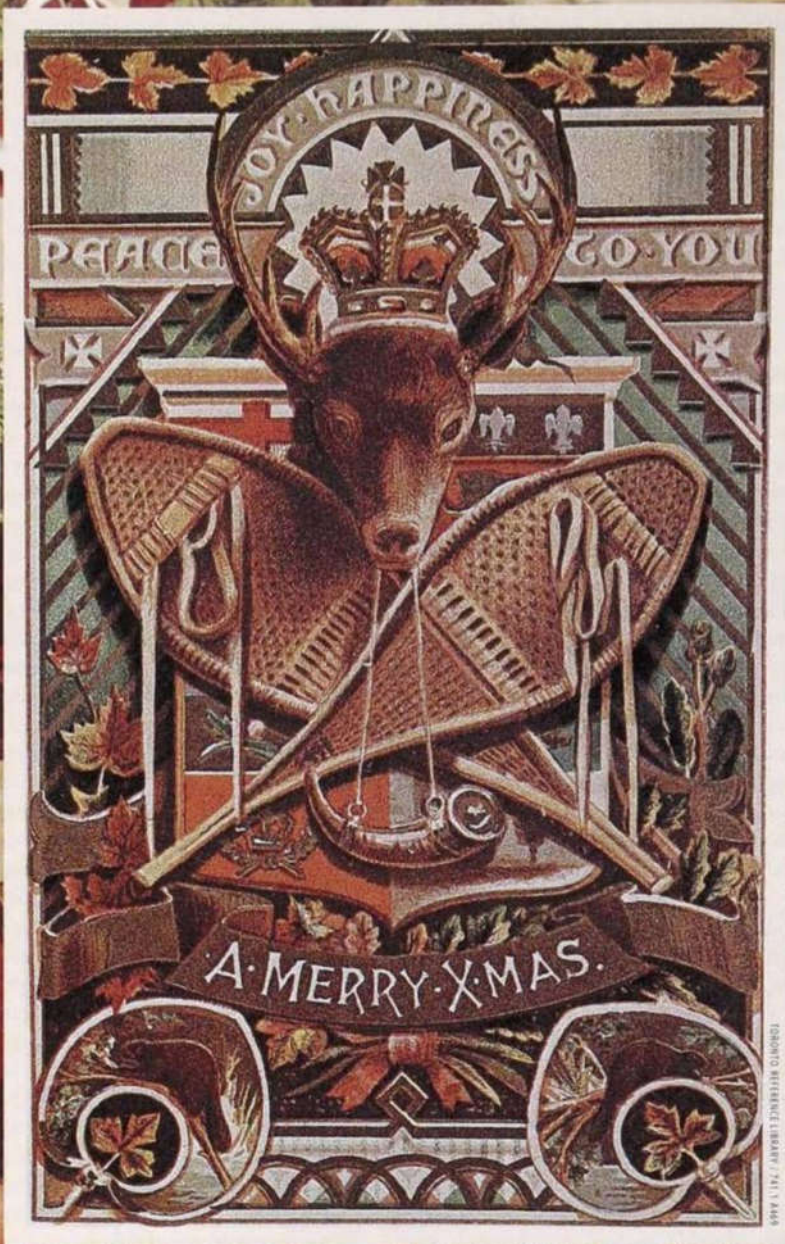
Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour died in peace, it is believed in 1663, at Cap-Sable. That same year, Louis XIV suppressed the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, and New France became a crown colony. In 1670, with improved relations between Bourbon France and Restoration England, Acadia was returned to France. The Acadian settlers, meanwhile, had found a way to get along (even if their leaders had not), cultivating lands they took from the sea with a diking technique called *aboiteaux*, and governing themselves as they saw fit—often without referring to higher authorities. ■

André Pelchat is a freelance writer living in Victoriaville, Quebec.

As soon as he was inside, d'Aulnay had the remaining defenders hanged, forcing Françoise-Marie to stare at the grisly scene, a rope around her neck.



Françoise-Marie Jacquelin, second wife of Charles de La Tour. Though little is known of her background, she accepted a proposal of marriage from La Tour in 1640 and became an invaluable ally and guardian of her husband's interests, pleading his case at the French court in 1642, and later, once France had discredited him, to the English. But it was her courageous defence of Fort La Tour against d'Aulnay that would elevate her to the status of heroine of Acadia, earning her the romanticized name Marie de La Tour. She died three weeks after the siege of the fort, supposedly from shock at seeing her men hanged, although some of her supporters believed she was poisoned by d'Aulnay. This illustration, the frontispiece for William Ganong's *The Story of Acadia*, portrays Marie de La Tour's mythic status.



THANKS TO THE MACDONALD HOUSE MUSEUM, MONTRÉAL

Yuletide 1900



Christmas is certainly one of the strongest links most Canadians have with the past. Many think it has changed little over the years, and perhaps in our fast changing world Christmas

has indeed changed less than most things. Yet changed it has.

Christmas has been celebrated in English-speaking communities in the Maritime provinces since the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. At first it was a simple, almost totally religious affair, but by 1830 the *New Brunswick Courier* was lamenting in its December 25 issue that the social joys of Christmas and opportunities to take a break from the workaday world were eroding.

The same issue of the Saint John newspaper carried the first New Brunswick appearance of a poem that was destined to change the season even more. Titled "Christmas Times," its first couplet began, "'Twas the night before Christmas, when all thro' the house."

Clement Clarke Moore's poem, which created an image of Santa Claus and the toys he would bring, augmented the religious observance of the 25th, but more importantly, it signalled the shift, many decades in development, from a festival for adults to one focused on children. In Maritime Canada, milestones included merchant William Prior erecting the first decorated tree in Halifax in 1846, and the British regiments stations at Fredericton in the 1860s adding decorated trees to the live greens used to brighten their barracks for the long-established Christmas dances, plays, and banquets. In the early 1870s, merchant Charles Sampson arranged Santa to deliver gifts from his Fredericton store, and in the mid-1880s costumed Santas began appearing in department stores and around the Christmas tree at Sunday School gatherings.

By 1874, the December 27 edition of the Saint

John Globe was bemoaning the growing burden of the season, stating: "The Christmas holidays impose much work and worry upon all sorts and conditions of men and women." But it was a burden Canadians seemed anxious to assume, for as the *Globe* went on to explain, Christmas "gives the opportunity for the display of many kinds and beautiful feelings ... of extra care for other's welfare, of extra thought for other's happiness—all acts," its editor concluded, "no doubt, gladly performed!"

Indeed, this is seen through letters, diaries, stories, books, and newspapers of the era, which combined give a composite look at how our ancestors in all parts of the nation marked the season as the nineteenth century became the twentieth.

Let's start with the coastal extremes—St. John's and Victoria. Newfoundlanders in 1900 still referred to Santa Claus as Father Christmas, and mummers (masked or costumed merrymakers) still walked the streets. However, newspapers lamented that other old customs, like dragging in the Yule log and volleys of musketry fire from old sealing guns to mark Christmas Eve, had disappeared. In an article titled "Last Christmas of the Century," the *Evening Telegram* noted the usual "levees, receptions, concerts, theatricals, college reviews, and kindergarten exercises," for the "social enjoyment" of St. John's residents. Like all papers of the era, it printed extensive lists of church services and noted the offering was to be for the poor, as was customary a century ago. Mumming was restricted to "places where police are not stationed." But, the story continued, "every night there are scores of young lads from 12 to 18 years of age dressed in fantastic costumes, visiting various houses."

At the opposite end of the county, the *Victoria Daily Times* had a much more commercial tone to its pages as Christmas approached. Among its leading advertisers was the Hutcheson Company's Westside ("Victoria's Popular Store"), the home of Santa Claus. According to a letter in the *Times*, the old gent had quite an adventure reaching the Westside, claiming that he had been attacked by bears on the mainland (which he drove off with a Gatling gun), and was in great peril from a school of whales as he crossed to Victoria. From 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. on December 15, Santa was at the Westside (along with Cinderella) giving away boxes of candy (a thousand in the first half hour alone!) at the grotto. Children were encouraged to follow a red line from Santa's Christmas tree to Santa's dip pond, where "you put your hand into a Big Red Box and draw out a prize every time."

The advertisement makes no mention of cost, but the editorial coverage notes a ten-cent charge for the greened grotto and a nominal charge for the

Clockwise, from top left: Santa's familiars are typically reindeer these days. But the photographer for this turn-of-the-last-century postcard chose a more Biblical animal for his presentation. Could eight of them pull a sleigh?

A very Canadian variation on a Victorian Christmas card theme.

Presents unwrapped, a Calgary family poses against a stark prairie landscape.

In the background: The front parlour of a well-to-do Victorian home decorated for Christmas, circa 1896.



BC ARCHIVES / W-02942

Alice Rendall gives a good account of her first prairie Christmas.

"There is to be a general gathering of the whole colony on Xmas day... church

services at 10:30, High Tea at 5, followed by a Concert and large Xmas tree for the children." In the larger centres, the commercial aspect of Christmas was starting to grow.



DAVID GOSSE / MONTANA HISTORICAL COLLECTION / VINTAGE PHOTO AND IMAGE, SAINT JOHN, N.B.

"dip" or fish pond. With 3,623 visitors on his first day alone, the commercial advantage taken of Clement Moore's 1823 characterization of Santa is easily seen. It was not limited to the Westside alone, though. The *Times* devoted a full column to other stores' efforts at decorating (some with an engraving of Santa) in a "battle of the windows," which they described as "places of splendour."

The effort paid off. The December 26, 1900 edition of the *Times* noted: "The holiday trade this year outran that of any previous season by a very large figure," claiming it was due to "intelligent use of printer's ink by the different firms of the city."

Looking back, no newspaper of the time did a better job for advertisers than the *Times*, which used photos for illustration when other papers, especially in the developing prairie provinces, were still without line drawings. Indeed, some prairie communities had no newspapers at all with which to report Christmas celebrations.

Instead we must look to private correspondence. A collection of letters by Alice Rendall, who emigrated from England to Lloydminster, Saskatchewan in 1903, gives a good account of her first prairie Christmas. "There is to be a general gathering of the whole colony on Xmas day ... church services at 10:30, High Tea at 5, followed by a Concert [a "Musical Union" with 110 names on the list had been formed] and large Xmas tree for the children." She explained it would be held in a large store lent for the occasion and, to conclude the festivities, "on Boxing Night we hope to hold a dance."

A subsequent letter confirmed that all went as planned, and, indeed, there were additions to the festivities—a big feed prior to the concert, and the arrival of an "ideal 'Santa Claus'" at the interval, who distributed gifts from the branches of the "prettily decorated" tree.

The periodical *Western Churchman* also gives a look at festivities across the prairies, and includes details on church services, decorative efforts, social events, and food enjoyed, despite hardships of winter weather and distances between settlements. Festive decorative touches mentioned included the importation of English ivy at Maple Creek, and ferns from the Pacific coast at Lethbridge in 1897. At Moose Jaw that year, the periodical indicated, "we have had a right 'merrie' Christmas"—an opinion based on a doubling of communicants at the Eucharist. Carols were also sung from printed booklets donated by a parishioner; a lantern service (early slide show) featured pictures of the Holy Land; and during Christmas week, children sang a cantata, "Santa Claus' Mistake."

In the larger centres, the commercial aspect of Christmas was starting to grow. Calgary, only seven

years old as an incorporated city, had stores with a "Christmas display unexcelled between Winnipeg and the coast," the *Herald* reported on Christmas Eve 1900. "The prosperity of a place is known by its stores," the newspaper continued, "and judging from the Christmas display ... Calgary must indeed be a most prosperous place."

The text continued, "The excellence of goods kept in the Hudson's Bay Stores all over the Territories, not to speak of Manitoba or British Columbia, are too well known to require any laudatory remarks [here], but the manager of the Calgary branch appears to have excelled himself in the purchasing line to judge from the stock that is now on hand."

The *Manitoba Morning Free Press* noted "churchgoing could hardly be said to be the most prominent feature" of Christmas Day 1900 in Winnipeg. Perhaps the citizens were just too tired out from late-night shopping on December 24, when "thongs come out in force to view the brilliantly illuminated shop windows and make belated purchases of seasonable presents."

A lengthy column entitled "How the World's Holiday was Observed in the Prairie City" noted the General Hospital was beautifully decorated with evergreens and with "colored lamps" on the children's tree. Christmas Day menus at the Clarendon and Leland Hotels rivalled hotels in the biggest Canadian cities. Other columns noted that at the 'B' Squadron mess, decorations "surpassed ... former years," and at the jail "prisoners were given quite a treat in accordance with the usual Christmas custom"—besides a bountiful roast beef dinner, oranges, and fruits, each man received a flourishing hyacinth plant. The hearts of fifty-five children at the annual Christmas tree entertainment of the Children's Home were gladdened by the receipt of an abundant supply of "toys of great beauty and value," an annual gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stoddart of Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, in northern Canada, Madame Tremblay of Miller Creek provides a glimpse of a Yukon Christmas in 1894. Being the only woman in the area at the time, she decided, with her husband, to invite the twelve local miners for a Christmas dinner. Her invitation, according to Sam Holloway, who published her tales in *Yukoner Magazine*, was circulated on birchbark and included the admonition, "bring your own spoon, fork and knife." She prepared stuffed rabbits, roast of caribou, brown beans *au bacon*, King Oscar sardines, evaporated potatoes, sourdough bread, prune pudding, and cake, and cut her own long skirt for the tablecloth. One prospector walked fifty kilometres to join the feast and brought a bottle of rum to "enhance our little celebration," as Madame Tremblay wrote. After supper, when she gave permission to smoke, they filled their

With few women and little of the comforts of southern Canadian domestic life, Christmas in Yukon around 1900 (opposite) was a humble interlude in a hard life. At least it was an opportunity for perhaps more than one post-prandial drink.

In the background: The 1909 congregation of Centenary Church, Saint John, New Brunswick, gathers its contributions for the city's poor. Then, as now, Christmas was the focus for an eruption of charitable giving.

A middle-class Manitoba family (below, right) sits down to Christmas dinner in 1908.

In Quebec, there were varied situations. The English experience of Montreal differed little from that of Winnipeg or Victoria. An S. Carsley Co. Limited advertisement in the *Montreal Daily Star* would surely have enchanted the city's children, as it contained a letter from Santa explaining how he would escape the Boer soldiers—a big news item that year as Canadian soldiers fighting in South Africa were scheduled to return home in time for Christmas. In fact, a program flyer has survived from St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Ontario, that details a special Christmas 1900 service to welcome 'B' Company home from the "Transvaal War." Similar services for other churches were noted in newspapers countrywide.

Now, another century has passed; a hundred more Christmases have come and gone. Christmas today is not what it was a hundred years ago, and we can be sure that a hundred years hence, it will be different than it is today. We can hope, however, as Gourley did in 1900, that it will still be a time to enjoy in fullest measure. 

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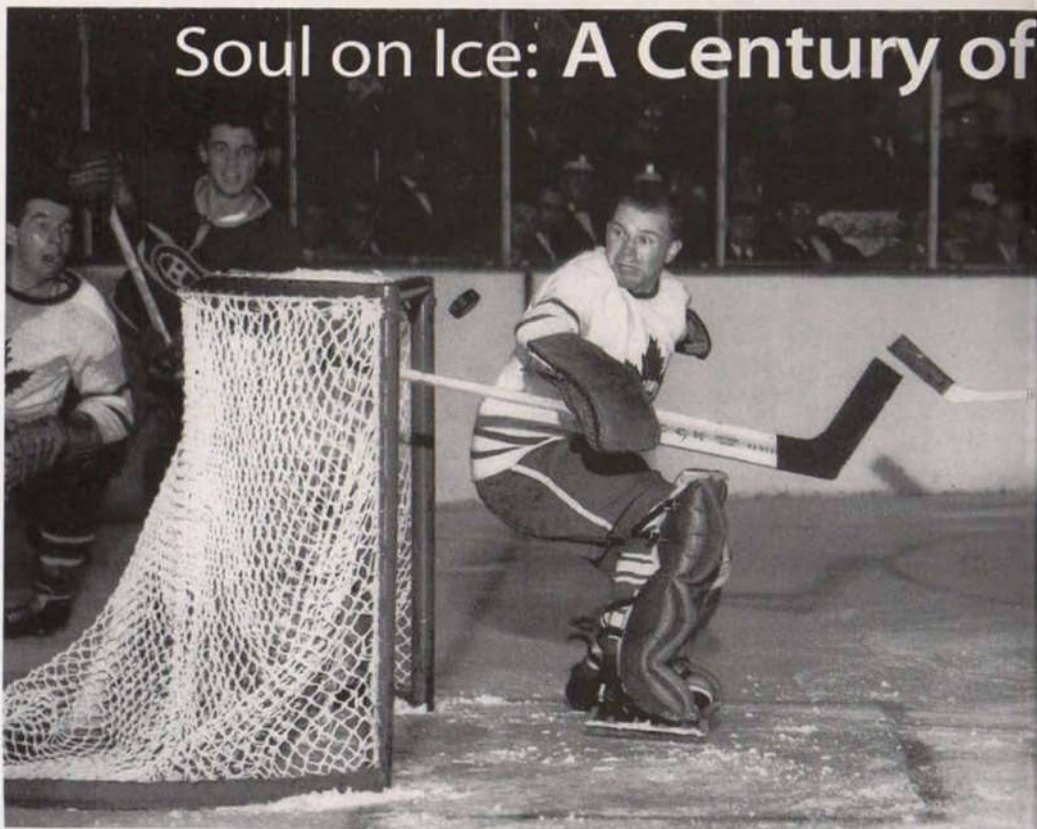
and the beginning of another offer a wonderful excuse to look back as a way of looking ahead, to see where we've been to help us see where we are going. One hundred years ago, hockey was almost entirely Canadian, with just a few players in the northern United States and some Norwegians, Russians, and Swedes (Finland was part of Sweden then) playing "bandy"—field hockey on ice. In Canada, there weren't more than a thousand players. A few women played as well, but that would soon change: mostly hockey was for young men, not even for kids or old-timers.

They played outdoors with few exceptions, and always on natural ice. So only some parts of the country were able to play, and only if the weather wasn't too good, or too bad—cold was good, too cold wasn't—and then only for a few months of the year. Little could be organized or scheduled. If you were going to play, it had to be "pick up"—putting together whoever was around under whatever conditions you were willing to put up with, playing whatever variation of hockey you could dream up. So more often rinks were frozen-over roadways, pucks were "road apples," and sticks were branches of a tree.

Almost no one watched, for who wanted to stand around in the cold? The players kept warm by moving—seven players to a side, with everyone on the ice at the same time. There were no substitutions. As a player, you had to pace yourself—circle, look for an opening,

It's always been our game, its players our heroes. It's come to be as much a part of our national psyche as the icy ponds and rivers where it originated. In this essay, based on an address delivered at the Open Ice conference in Toronto in August 1999, the author looks back at the game we've given to the world, though that world has changed it forever.

by Ken Dryden



Soul on Ice: A Century of

Montreal at Toronto, Saturday, December 3, 1955 (right). Toronto Maple Leafs goalie Harry Lumley watches the puck go in. That year, the Montreal Canadiens would win the first of a record five consecutive Stanley Cups. Left to right, Ron Stewart, Jean Béliveau, Lumley, Hugh Bolton, Jack Leclair, Sid Smith, Maurice Richard.

Sometimes called the "Babe Ruth of Hockey," Howie Morenz (centre) was arguably the most beloved and best player of his day.

Eddie Shore (far right) in his glory days with the Boston Bruins.

burst into action, circle, rest. The rink was small. There were no Zambonis—the snow on the ice got deeper and heavier as the game went on. There were two periods, each thirty minutes long. Long, flat skate blades wobbled because they were strapped onto boots. This made turning difficult, so the game moved back and forth in straight lines. Sticks were short, thick, and unbendable like those used in field hockey. Shots were wristed, not slapped, and slow, which was a good thing, because goalies wore almost no equipment, save for leg guards borrowed from the wicket keeper in cricket and a thick pair of gloves designed to keep out the cold, not the pain. Masks? For what? And if goalies were dumb enough to fall on the ice to make a save, they were penalized, because lying down and getting hit by the puck when opposing shooters couldn't raise it was not considered a skill. It wasn't "sporting." It was simply not done. Two minutes.

But besides the equipment, the lack of substitutions, and the outdoor nature of the

game and the weather, what shaped hockey most in 1900 was one fundamental rule: no forward passing. A puck could be advanced *only* by the puck carrier. Just as in rugby, a pass could go *only* to a teammate who was behind you. This made stickhandling the main weapon used by players on offence while, for the defence—with an opponent's head down and no one ahead to pass to—the main weapon was body-checking.

That was the game in 1900. If, 100 years ago, hockey officials had got together, what would they have imagined for the twentieth century ahead? Arenas that would be covered? Sure, some already existed. But with 20,000 people inside them, with music and mascots, artificial ice, Zambonis and video boards, at a time when the automobile was unproven and radio and computers had not even been invented? No way. Better equipment? Sure. Fewer than seven players on the ice at one time? Maybe. But a season that lasted nine

scored *fewer* than two goals a game.) By that time, the NHL was established as the sport's leading professional league, fans were paying money to watch games, the league had expanded to the U.S. for the first time, and radio was beginning to create heroes and send descriptions of their exploits to millions across the country. By 1930, hockey was becoming a Canadian passion.

Other countries were starting to play too, but not very well. Once, Canada had been the only hockey-playing country. Now we were the best, which was much better. World Hockey Championships, putting their best against our second- or third-rate amateurs, were a licence for slaughter. In the 1924 Winter Olympics, it was Canada 22, Sweden 0. **For Canadians, it was wonderful.**

The following years saw the introduction of the red line,

Canadian Hockey



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months of the year? One hundred-plus games including exhibitions and playoffs? A game where after forty-five seconds, players were replaced and rested? Not a chance. Where forward passing was permitted? *Never!* Some things you can tinker with; some are sacred. A game with forward passing simply would not be hockey.

It took almost thirty years for the unthinkable to occur. Forward passing was introduced in 1929, and it only happened because coaches learned, as coaches do. Defences stacked up and nobody could score. (George Hainsworth's twenty-two shutouts in forty-four games were no anomaly: in the NHL in 1928-29, on average both teams, together,

great stars like Howie Morenz and Eddie Shore, Depression and wartime hockey, the NHL finally shrinking to six teams—the Original Six, we call them now, which were original only if you started to follow the game after 1942.

After the Second World War ended, with Europe battered, the future moved to North America. Our economy boomed and people had money in their pockets. Lives put on hold for the Depression and the war were ready to be lived. For themselves, people bought homes, cars, and refrigerators; for their communities, schools and playgrounds. All across the country, to commemorate the soldiers' sacrifice, they put up memorial arenas. *Indoor arenas!* Most with nat-

ural ice, but now with walls and a roof to keep out the worst of winter and the best of fall and spring. Now hockey seasons could be longer. Now kids had a chance to play.

In the 1950s, minor hockey in Canada took off. In 1930, fewer than 14,000 kids played; in 1957, almost 100,000. Organized games now meant equipment to buy and ice time to rent. More parents now had to get involved, coaching, transporting, paying, and watching. The catch phrase of the day was, "Take your boy to the rink, don't send him." At this time, almost all of Canada's best male athletes chose hockey. Maple Leaf Gardens and the Montreal Forum were full. To millions, Saturday night was now *Hockey Night In Canada* on television, as a ritual that had begun on radio continued and grew.

The NHL had two great stars—Rocket Richard and Gordie Howe—and two great stars in the making—Bobby Hull and Frank Mahovlich. But the style of the game hadn't changed much since the 1930s. Forwards and defencemen

In the late 1950s, a young girl cut her hair short, called herself Abby, and joined a boys' team in Toronto until the boys found out, ending the hockey career of Abigail Hoffman, future Olympic runner. Hockey in the 1950s was for kids, but not, apparently, for kids who were girls.

And appearing for the first time on the edges of our radar screens, just visible and still irrelevant, were the Soviets.

The 1960s began well: the slapshot, the banana blade, a game of power and speed and, later in the decade, Bobby Orr. Television was transforming sports. It brought into every home events that were staged in only a few cities, creating an appetite for the live product in other locales. The U.S. was growing west and south, and for emerging new cities, true big-league status required having big-league teams. Until 1967, the NHL was a cozy, regional league, its cities an overnight train ride apart. Civic pride, new money, personal ambition, and the fear of rival leagues

Hockey game (right) on the Assiniboine River, 1908.

The Haileybury Comets (centre, at top), 1909. Equipment was minimal: warm gloves, and for the goalie, leg guards from a cricket player.

On November 1, 1959, a slapshot shattered the face of Montreal goalie Jacques Plante (centre, at bottom). After getting stitched up, he returned to the ice wearing the mask he had devised for practice. He refused to play without it for the rest of his career. Over the years, goalies' masks would become standard equipment.

Three greats of the 50s, Maurice Richard and Jean Beliveau play against Gordie Howe (far right) in the 1950 Stanley Cup series.



still played in shifts that averaged more than two minutes in length. Offences still moved up the ice in straight lines—"three abreast," as Foster Hewitt used to say. Defences—wing on wing—moved back the same way. Goalies stayed on their feet because it was said that this was the best way to stop pucks, but the real reason was to protect their unguarded faces by keeping their heads above the crossbar. Jacques Plante of the Canadiens put on a mask and enjoyed success, but few other NHL goaltenders followed suit.

These were the golden years of Canada and Canadian hockey—a time of high performance and high promise. Today was great; tomorrow would be better.

drove sports to expand; the airplane allowed it to happen.

The old six-team NHL suddenly doubled with the addition of half a dozen new clubs. The NHL's quality of play, which, since the war, had been getting better and better, suddenly hit a snag. Nobody had asked Canadians if they had wanted to see six new bad teams join the NHL. It was money; it was Americans. Whose game was this anyway? Until now, nobody had ever had to ask.

And the Soviet blip on the radar screen? It was getting bigger. By the end of the 1960s, the Soviets had buried the amateur world. Only the NHL was left.

On the home front, to commemorate our past and to

express our belief in the future, "Centennial arenas" went up across the country. Debates about the game focused mostly on the impact of television and how it was killing the great town-versus-town rivalries of senior hockey, and on a junior hockey system that encouraged high-school dropouts. There wasn't much talk about style of play or player development. We were the best, so it must be that we did things the best way.

1972. It was the most important hockey year of the century.

In 1972, the World Hockey Association began. Bobby Hull left Chicago, joined the new league and became the game's first million-dollar player. Hockey players had always seemed like the guy next door. Now they were in a salary neighborhood all their own and they could never go back. The Age of Money had begun.

But more than that, 1972 was the Summit Series, the NHL's and Canada's best professional players (except for Bobby Hull) against the world- and Olympic-champion Soviet national team. It was Canadian hockey's chance to show the world what we had never had to show before—that we were the best. The series began as a celebration in the making. Then, instead, it lurched to disaster, then rebirth and, finally, to celebration—with thirty-four seconds to spare. What a ride it was: four wins by Canada, three of which came in



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Moscow on late goals by Paul Henderson, three wins by the Soviets, and one game tied.

Though we had won, we would never feel the same about ourselves and our game again. We had been the best. It was an understanding we had earned and repeated to ourselves from birth: our way was the best way. Now, however, we still may have been the best, but, clearly, there was another way, too.

There was such anger in Canada: at our fat, overpaid, arrogant pros; at the NHL for making them that way; at our own national selves for getting caught from behind—the destiny of

being Canadian.

In 1972, we lost our confidence.

The divide between the NHL and minor hockey in Canada widened. There had been strong criticism of the NHL and its player development system (notably from former Canadian national-team coach Father David Bauer and from the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association) and now those critics had the ammunition they were missing. Because there

was clearly *one* other way—the Soviet system—and maybe there were *lots* of other ways. Why *does* our game move in straight lines, forward and back? Our skate blades aren't long, flat, and strapped onto boots any longer; they haven't been for decades. Why *does* our game focus on the puck carrier, the way it needed to before forward passing was allowed, the other five skaters waiting, unthreatening and uncreative? Why *don't* we pass more and better? And though we have more arenas than anyone else, is there something important we miss about off-ice training? Why *do* we play so many games and practise so little? Because parents like to watch games and go to tournaments? Because coaches don't have enough drills to keep a practice moving? Because parents and coaches think kids prefer games? What about the body contact in our game, the stick work, the hitting and fighting? Is it spontaneous and natural, or is it just us? Does it get in the way of developing other skills? Why *do they* look more skillful than *we* do? Why *do they* look the way we remember *we* looked

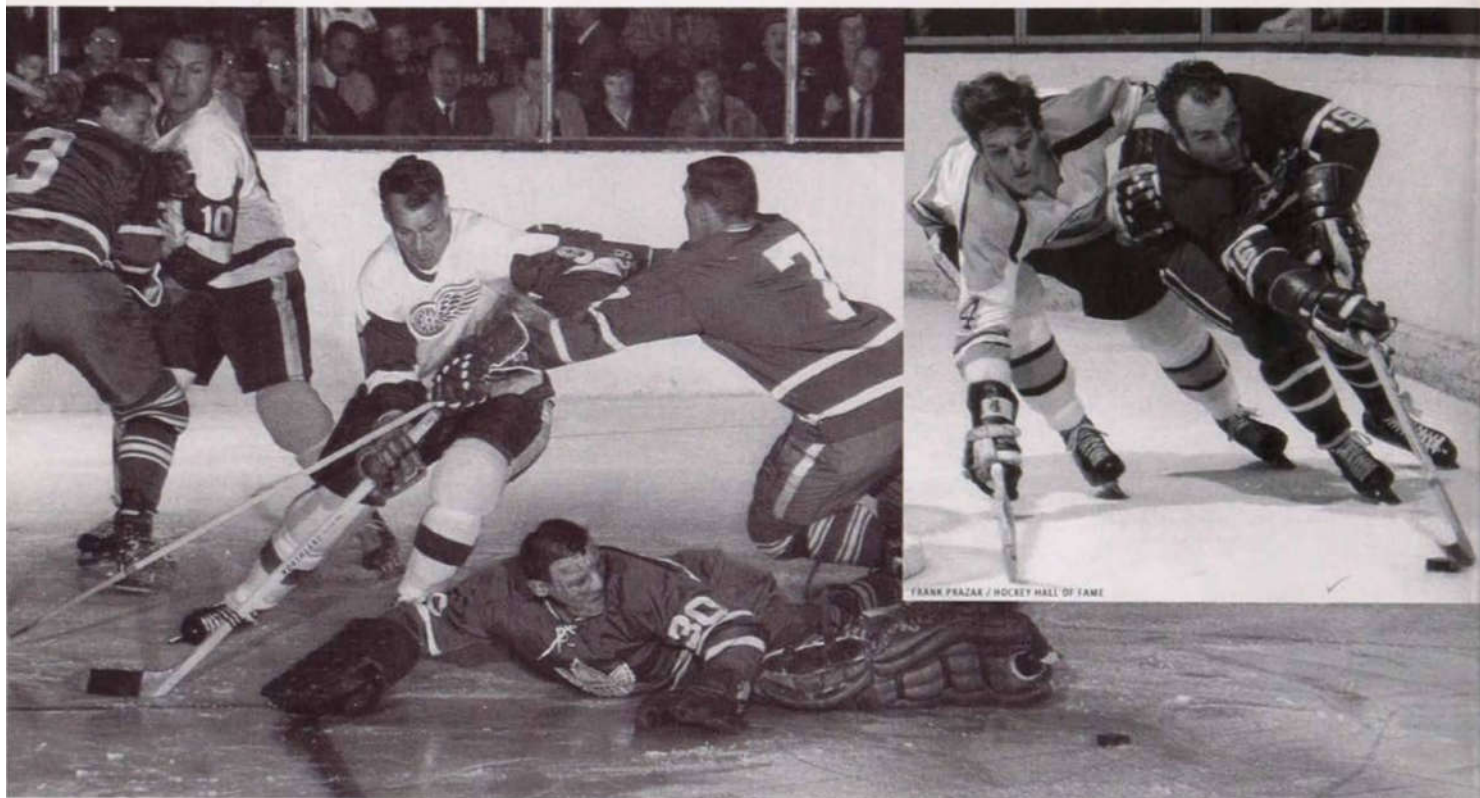
What happened to us as a hockey nation, as a people? A barrage of studies and reports fol-

lowed—a barrage that has never stopped, more than a quarter of a century later.

As for the NHL, some coaches and players learned and adapted; the league, preoccu-

many years ago?

ies and reports fol-



GRAPHIC ARTISTS / HOCKEY HALL OF FAME

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pied with its battle with the WHA and the rise of intimidation and goonery in Philadelphia, carried on as if nothing had happened.

For a few years, things began to feel less urgent. We won the Canada Cup in 1976. In games between Soviet club teams and the NHL, the Soviets won more often, but not against our best teams. Then, in 1979, came the Challenge Cup.

If 1972 is the most important year of the hockey century, then 1929—the year of the forward pass—and 1979 are tied for second. The WHA died in 1979 as four of its teams joined the NHL. Now there were six Canadian teams and, a year later, when Atlanta moved to Calgary, seven. One-third of the league was based in Canada, just as it had been during the glory years of the Original Six. And now with the demise of the WHA, the competitive force that had driven salaries higher was gone.

In New York, a one-time event took the place of the NHL All-Star Game in February 1979. The Challenge Cup was a best-of-three series between the NHL All-Stars, including Euro-

pean and American players, against the Soviet Nationals. The NHLers won the first game, the Soviets the second and the third, with the score of the last game a resounding 6-0! It was a midseason competition, so there could be no excuses for poor conditioning. There was no ambush from overconfidence, as in 1972. The games were in North America on an NHL-sized rink. We were left with no place to hide; we had been pushed off the top of the competitive mountain. They were the best, and they had numbers, climate, hard work, and a hockey system on their side to win in the future.

But 1979 was a watershed year for a third reason—in October, Wayne Gretzky entered the NHL. With his Edmonton Oilers teammates, he would open up the game. For Gretzky, the greatest goal scorer in NHL history, was really, first and best of all, a playmaker. But passing required a reason to pass and someone to pass to, and Gretzky pushed his teammates to skate, think ahead, create, and find open ice in

goals went in and, for awhile, things went excitingly out of control. Then, as always, coaches adapted. Along came “the trap,” space in the center zone disappeared, defenders were suddenly close enough to hook and hold, and the game slowed down again. Today, scoring champions have point totals lower than in the pre-Gretzky years. And in a low-scoring game, the goalie becomes the most important player. Gretzky not only triggered the opening up of the game but—action and reaction—triggered its shutdown too. He remains one of hockey’s great influences of the last twenty years.

Another important influence on the game has been changes in the way Canadians live. With broader wealth, new technologies and new opportunities, there are lots more things for Canadian kids and parents to do: more activities to get involved in—music, computers, part-time jobs; other sports, and more sources of entertainment—more TV channels, CD-ROMs, and the Internet. The most involved kids



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Toronto goalie Terry Sawchuk (far left, at bottom) and teammate Tim Horton defend the goal against Gordie Howe.

Bobby Orr (centre, at left) bears down on Henri Richard, c. 1970.

The 1972 Summit Series between Team Canada and the Soviets (left) would culminate in one of the greatest moments of hockey history—Paul Henderson’s series-winning goal with thirty-four seconds remaining in the eighth and final game. But the series would also make household names of players such as Yakushev, Kharlamov, and goalie Vladislav Tretiak, shown here, who would become the first Russian player inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame.

order to be in position to receive one of his on-the-tape passes. Playing this way, they had to become better players, and they did. Because open ice is rarely found at the end of a straight-ahead dash up the ice, but across the width of the ice where there is more space, that’s where they went.

The old preforward passing patterns, with their rugby roots, were finally dead. It had taken fifty years.

Gretzky also changed the focus of our play. A passing game made the player without the puck more important than the player with it. He was the quicker, more creative and manoeuvrable. He was the more dangerous one. So being able to “play away from the puck,” offensively and defensively, became a coach’s mantra. The game picked up speed. Lots more

now don’t *all* choose sports; the best male athletes now don’t *all* choose hockey. Hockey doesn’t hold the same monopoly it once had and never will again.

The other two great influences on Canadian hockey in the 1980s and 1990s have been money and Europeans in the NHL. In the area of money, Gretzky has had a big effect as well. In 1980, the NHL’s average salary was \$108,000. In 2000, it was \$1.36 million.* When the WHA disappeared in 1979,

*These figures are blended, combining both U.S. and Canadian dollars. Because in 1980, the value of the Canadian dollar was much greater than today, and because many more contracts were done in Canadian dollars, the disparity between 1980 and 2000 is even greater than it seems.

with no free agency, player salaries should have gone down and, factoring in inflation, they did a little. But Gretzky overcame that. How do you decide what to pay someone like him? You pay him more than anybody else, of course, but nothing is forcing you to pay him *that* much more. Where's he going to go? What's he going to do? Except that he's so much better than anybody else, it seems unconscionable if you don't. Plus, with the NHL looking to become more important in the U.S., Gretzky was imaginable good news: a star on the order of magnitude of Magic or Michael—and a nice guy, too. The bad news for NHL owners was that money had become the important measure of superstardom, and, for him to be taken as seriously as superstars in other sports, he had to be paid like them. His salary soared. He was the understandable exception. Then along came Mario Lemieux, a player of such talent that he was nearly comparable to Gretzky. Then Mark Messier emerged as a complete play-

and banks to help them pay the price. Teams became less personal, more corporate.

Money came to affect competition. Before free agency, money in sports was like money in the old Soviet Union—it didn't matter because there was nothing to buy. Now there was. Teams have come to be described as "big market" or "small market." Small market might show competitive promise; but year-in, year-out, big market almost always wins. What happens to a city's fans when their team can't win?

Money has also come to affect where the future seems to be. The Quebec Nordiques and Winnipeg Jets moved south. Other Canadian teams are vulnerable. What will hockey in Canada be like if other teams leave, too?

As for the Europeans, in 1970, there was not one European player in the NHL; in 1990, there were 69; now there are 179, 27 percent of the NHL's players. Expansion, the 1972 series, and the WHA started NHL teams on the road to

He would become known as the Great One, and from 1979 to 1999, Wayne Gretzky (right) would score 1,072 goals, play on four different teams, and with his passing game, change hockey forever.

Börje Salming (centre, at right) was one of the first European players to don an NHL jersey when he joined the Toronto Maple Leafs in 1973. More would follow. By 2000, 179 players, 27 percent of all NHL players, were European.

Montreal player Vladimir Malakhov (far right) skates across center ice, December 26, 1998, in the warmup to the last game in Maple Leaf Gardens. The closure of the Gardens and other old arenas before it signalled how money had changed the game. New arenas, like the Air Canada Centre in Toronto and the Molson Centre in Montreal, were expected to draw the corporate revenues needed to float the ever-increasing costs of a professional hockey team.



MILES NADAL / HOCKEY HALL OF FAME

er, nearly comparable to Lemieux. A salary bridge was built to connect the unconnectable Gretzky with the rest. Salaries took off across the board. Plus, after a players' strike in 1992 and an owners' lockout in 1995, meaningful free agency and salary arbitration became business realities in the NHL of the mid-1990s. The salary escalator continued with no one really sure where we'd find the top floor.

These salaries have created giant waves across the system. A generation of arenas now became obsolete. More seats and more corporate boxes were needed; the Montreal Forum and Maple Leaf Gardens were soon history. Franchises cost more money to buy. Owners needed partners

recruiting Europeans; the fall of the Iron Curtain did the rest. The NHL has become the only truly global league in pro sports, employing all the world's best players. The dream of today's young hockey players in Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Helsinki, Bratislava, Prague, St. Paul, and Saskatoon is the same: not to play on a national or Olympic team, but to play in the NHL.

In 2000, hockey is no longer just a Canadian game.

And in Canada, the game feels a little less Canadian. In June, Maurice Richard died. More than 100,000 Canadians stood in line and walked by his coffin in the days that followed as he lay in state in Molson Centre. At his funeral,

people who by politics, ideology, status in life, language, culture, age, or team loyalty had little in common, sat side by side. The depth and breadth of hockey's power to connect was again powerfully in evidence.

A few weeks later, Molson Breweries announced that it was selling the Canadiens. An NHL team costs a lot of money to own and operate. A Stanley Cup-contending team costs a lot more. Only corporate pockets are now deep enough, and corporations need profits to generate "shareholder value." Only contending teams sell much incremental beer and now not enough to generate that value. In Montreal in 2000, Molson's is saying, beer and hockey are no longer the perfect mix. A team which provides programming for a company's even larger investment in sports-network TV, now that's another story.

So what is in the game's future?

We are nowhere near where we could have imagined ourselves being 100 years ago. Yet indisputably, our game is far better to play and watch and follow in almost every way. Just imagine the unrelenting boredom of a game without forward passing on slow, heavy ice. One hundred years from now, hockey observers will look back on a century of change and the unimaginably different game of 2000. What will be the "forward pass" of our future, the one fundamental and unthinkable change that changes every-



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thing? Will it be four skaters playing at a time, instead of five? Or three? Man-to-man defences? Bigger nets? And will Canada still be the world's number-one hockey country? We got to where we are today by being the first and by having the most—most minor hockey players, most coaches, most rinks. But being first doesn't matter much now, and numbers may not either.

Also, as Canadians, we don't know how much the feeling we have for this game comes from our dominance of it—from the number of Canadians in the NHL, the number of Canadian stars, from Canadian teams winning the Stanley Cup. We have never had to know—that test is ahead. If in the future, we aren't so dominant, if fewer kids play, if there are fewer Canadian teams, will hockey remain a Canadian passion? ■

Ken Dryden is president of the Toronto Maple Leafs, a former NHL goalie and member of the Hockey Hall of Fame, and an acclaimed author.

➤ **Nasty Reginald Birchall had a plan: lure young Englishmen with a bit of money to Ontario to invest in his farm. Once they were alone—so far from England—he could easily ensure they never ever returned to civilization.**

How could such a plan go wrong? ➤

by Mary Lou Cornish

CANADA — University (Oxford) man possessing large farm desires to meet gentleman's son to live with him and learn farming with a view to partnership. Must invest hundred pounds to extend stock. Board and lodging and five per cent interest until partnership arranged. Address: J. R. Birchall, Primrose Club, 4 Park Place, St. James', London, England.

The ad that appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* was, quite simply, an invitation to death. The year was 1890 and Reginald Birchall had a plan. The twenty-four-year-old son of a minister from Lancashire, England, who had spent his life wasting his time and his father's finances, Birchall wanted money and wanted it badly. A womanizer, a gambler, a petty thief, he was now about to add murderer to the list of less-than-admirable epithets.

Birchall had married Florence Stevenson against her wealthy father's wishes and, to escape his new father-in-law's wrath, had whisked his bride (and her inheritance) off to Canada, where he invested money in a farm near Woodstock, Ontario, through the Farm Industry Pupil program. After his arrival November 21, 1888, he lasted a day. The farm was fictional, and he was little more than a hired hand. Hard labour did not much appeal to him anyway. He had enjoyed life more when he had been bedding women and gambling on the horses. So, abandoning farm work, the young man spent his time doing what he had always been so good at—being extravagantly idle.

He enjoyed the high life only briefly. Soon the long arm of the law reached all the way across the Atlantic Ocean from a solicitor's office in London to pull Birchall back to England. He had a great many debts to settle, debts which his weary father had refused to pay before his death. The irascible young Birchall was forced to part with all of his wife's money. And that's when he came up with the scheme.

Birchall decided that he would lure young men to Canada, inviting them to invest money in his farm, only to murder them once they arrived in the new land. It seemed a flawless plan, an easy way to obtain money simply because no one in Ontario would know these young men. If any of their bodies turned up, no one would be able to identify them. And so he published his advertisement in the newspaper. The ad's success, however, would lead to his downfall.

Within days, Birchall received two replies, one from a Mr. Frederick Benwell, the other from a Mr. Douglas Pelly. Both young men came from temptingly wealthy families. Birchall's greed would not allow him to refuse either of the interested parties. Therefore, when the necessary legal papers had been completed and a payment from each applicant made in advance, Birchall, his wife, and the two unwitting young men set out for Canada.

They sailed on the *Britannic*, which arrived in New York City on February 14, 1890. They stayed there overnight and then went on to Buffalo. Birchall had it all planned. He wanted to murder the men one at a time, so he persuaded Pelly to stay in Buffalo with his wife under the pretence that she was tired and needed to rest before completing the trip. Birchall and his victim headed off. They left on the morning of February 17, taking a train to Hamilton and then on to the village of Eastwood, near Woodstock, where they disembarked. To reach the farm, they would have to walk the remainder of the way, a matter of a few miles. Birchall convinced Benwell that he knew of a shortcut through an isolated, marshy, wooded area known as the Blenheim Swamp.

MURDER I



Reginald Birchall and his wife Florence (above). Birchall was louche and lazy, but profligate with other people's money, mostly his father's and his wife's. While he swung for his crime, Florence was released from custody. There was no proof she had been an accessory. She later returned to England and remarried.



Once into it, Birchall complained of fatigue and began to fall back. With Benwell walking unwittingly before him, Birchall pulled a gun from his pocket and coldly shot the young man through the back of the head. Birchall removed all the labels from his victim's clothing and emptied the man's pockets, taking everything that would lead to the identification of the body. He then fled the scene. By evening, he was back in Buffalo.

It seemed a perfect plan but, unfortunately for Birchall, two local men who had entered Blenheim Swamp to cut wood found Benwell's body on February 21. Newspapers across the country ran a lurid account of the find. Meanwhile, Birchall, Pelly, and Florence remained in Buffalo, supposedly waiting for the latter to regain her strength. A bored Pelly decided to do a little sightseeing. He crossed over to Ontario to view the beauty of the Niagara Falls. While there he happened to pick up a Canadian newspaper. Not only did it give a full account of the discovery of the body, it displayed a picture of the unknown victim as well. Pelly raced back to Buffalo to get Birchall. Nothing would do but that they go to Woodstock and identify the body.

The police promptly arrested both Birchall and his wife for Benwell's murder on March 2, 1890. Mrs. Birchall was released eight days later. No one could prove that she was an accessory to the crime. Her husband, however, spent the summer in jail. He apparently passed the time corresponding with numerous old friends and writing his autobiography, which was, by all accounts, little more than purple prose and braggadocio. His case went to trial September 22. On September 27, he was found guilty of murder.

Reginald Birchall was hanged on November 14, 1890. It was said that he died most stolidly. Because the bodies of hanged criminals could not be buried in the holy ground of a church cemetery, Birchall was buried in the yard of the Woodstock jail. As for Florence, she returned to England where she later remarried. Benwell was buried at Princeton cemetery, where a cairn memorializes him.

The event left one legacy. Local authorities renamed the swamp Benwell's Bog, a tribute to the young man who lost his life there. ■

Mary Lou Cornish, editor of *Arts and Crafts Canada*, grew up in Oxford County.

N BLENHEIM SWAMP

And ... now see the movie!

A murder in a desolate swamp, a great detective, a trial, and (these being Victorian times) a hanging—how many more cinematic elements do you need?

Sex is a possibility, but Falkland, Ontario filmmaker Ben Locche thought there was enough excellent stuff in the story of Frederick Benwell's tragic demise to take on the task of recreating it in docudrama form for the predilection of all ye who love a good murder mystery. *When Opportunity Kills: The Birchall/Benwell Affair* is a fifty-minute film that intercuts fictionalized scenes in swamp, ballroom, and jail cell with commentary from contemporary experts in the fields of nineteenth-century police procedure, law, and social conventions. Produced by the Princeton & District Museum & Library Association in conjunction with Locche, *When Opportunity Kills* was a labour of love for dozens of local area actors and extras who volunteered their services along with professional actors and technicians. Shown regularly at the Princeton Museum, the film is now available on video for \$30. Contact the museum at 519-458-8392 or e-mail <princetonmuseum@ocl.net>. ■

Blenheim Swamp, near Woodstock, Ontario, was a tangled and dense thicket, a perfect place to dispose of a dead body. Or so Reginald Birchall thought when he shot young Frederick Benwell (left) through the back of the head on February 17, 1890. However, four days later, two local men out cutting wood found Benwell's body and alerted the authorities. Second from left (above) is Detective John Wilson Murray, who investigated the case. Frederick Benwell is buried at Princeton Cemetery.

ALL PHOTOS COURTESY WOODSTOCK MUSEUM

B-329

The innovative Telephone Pavilion (upper right) at Expo 67 featured a 360° film screen that surrounded the viewer. Its project architect, Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan-born Dorice Brown Walford, became one of the first women architects in Canada to specialize in medical buildings and university laboratories.

Place Bonaventure (right), built between 1964 and 1968, contained a two-level retail arcade, topped by a 23,000-square-metre exhibition space, five levels of merchandising mart, an international trade centre, and a 400-room hotel. Underground walkways connect the complex to the railway, the Métro, and other buildings as part of Montreal's underground city. With exterior surfaces of textured concrete and with very few windows, it is an example of the "Brutalist" style of the period.

Montreal's Designing Women

IN THE 1960s, Montreal was a Modern architectural showcase. From Place Ville Marie to Place Bonaventure to Expo 67, the city reverberated with the construction of new and remarkable buildings. Remarkable, too, for the time were the number of women architects at the centre of this activity. As this account, adapted from *Designing Women* by McGill University's ANNMARIE ADAMS and PETA TANCRED, indicates, Montreal's women architects altered more than a skyline. They altered the profession.

In the heady days of the 1960s, with western economies booming and politics and culture emerging from a conservative postwar stasis, Montreal found itself through circumstance and the force of personalities at the centre of the Modern architectural movement. Expo 67, the world's fair on Ile Ste-Hélène and Ile Notre Dame in the St. Lawrence River, one of the most creative moments in Canadian history, brought international exposure to designs by some of the world's most talented architects—pavilions that were imaginative, audacious, and often breathtaking. Montreal, then Canada's largest city, was a particularly magical place in the country's centennial year, a laboratory for

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel (upper right) received her degree from McGill University in 1945 and subsequently studied at the Atelier Le Corbusier in Paris, a hub of European Modernism. With her husband, H.P. Daniel van Ginkel, she did the original master planning for Expo 67, the crowning event of Canada's centennial celebrations. Among her many firsts as a woman in her field is her deanship from 1980 to 1982 of the University of Toronto faculty of architecture. ▲ Vienna-born Eva Hollo Vecsei (left) came to Canada in the wake of the 1957 Hungarian revolution. Trained as an architect in postwar Eastern Europe, where women architects were more commonplace than in the West, Vecsei was able to apply her skills to the large, complex public projects considered at the time to be the province of male designers. When she worked as Place Bonaventure's design architect in the 1960s, her gender was much noted by the press. But attitudes changed quickly. By the early 1970s, when she began designing the large mixed-use urban development La Cité (shown behind her in this picture), her being a woman was little noted.



Montreal saw an unprecedented building boom in the 1960s, and women architects were able to take highly visible roles in creating the built environment.

bold expression and experimentation in architecture.

But the groundwork for Montreal's role as architectural cynosure had been laid some years before. Place Ville Marie, aluminum-and-glass-clad office towers in a shining cruciform, was built between 1958 and 1965. One of the finest examples of midcentury Modern design in Canada, it became the

veritable symbol of the new Montreal. Place Bonaventure, meanwhile, built between 1964 and 1968, was one of the largest new constructions in the world at the time. Occupying a two-and-a-half hectare site, it included 93,000 square metres of retail space and 9,300 square metres of offices, and connected to both railway and subway. Structurally bold, expensive, massive, and multifunctional, it had enormous implications for Montreal's urban design, giving it the distinction of having the world's largest underground city.

Among those at the centre of Place Bonaventure's design and construction was Eva Hollo Vecsei, who, working intensely on the project under Raymond Affleck, partner-in-charge of the architecture firm ARCOP (Architects in Cooperative Partnership) & Associates, was catapulted into the city's architectural foreground. Born in Vienna in 1930, an émigré to Canada after the 1957 Hungarian revolution, Vecsei brought to Montreal an impressive portfolio of large-scale constructed projects, including miners' housing in Hungary and schools in Budapest. For the time and place—Canada in the early postwar period—she was an exceptional figure. The few Canadian women registered as architects almost invariably found themselves forced into careers in residential design, interiors, and historic preservation—stereotypically ghettos for women architects. Rarely did they have opportunities to design the large commercial and industrial structures that marked cityscapes and built substantial careers.

But Vecsei was living in an exceptional time in an exceptional place. Though an entire world's fair could without irony designate its theme *Man and His World*, the 1960s were a time of turbulence and social transformation that challenged the norms of North American society, including the role of women. Quebec, particularly, underwent concentrated change at a remarkable pace. The death of Premier Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and the defeat of his ultra-conservative Union Nationale party in the ensuing elections in 1960 marked the start of the so-called Quiet Revolution in Quebec. Over the next decade and a half, the province passed from a right-wing conservative government to a nationalist/separatist government, the Parti Québécois, which first came to power in 1976. This political upheaval reflected major social and economic changes, not least of which were the massive decrease in the farming population, the waning of the Roman Catholic Church, the rising dominance of the public sector, and increased access to education. It was into this milieu that Vecsei and a number of her female colleagues stepped. While Quebec in 1942 was the

last province to accept women as registered architects, the early experience of its pioneers took place in a context much different than that of the rest of Canada. Montreal saw an unprecedented building boom in the 1960s, and women architects, more than their counterparts elsewhere in the country, were able to take highly visible roles in creating the built environment. In doing so, they changed their career trajectories, shattered myths about women in the profession, opened doors to other women, and, in good measure, gave Montreal its contemporary face.

Their accomplishments did not pass without notice, but

One More Profession "Invaded"

A book on English houses inspired Esther Marjorie Hill to become Canada's first registered woman architect. "The thought soon grew, though hidden carefully from the outside world," Hill confessed during a 1921 interview. Following studies at the University of Alberta, Hill transferred to the University of Toronto where she was the first woman admitted to the architectural program. She graduated on June 4, 1920, to a great cheer. "A storm of applause ... nearly shook the building," *The Globe* reported the next day.

Not everyone, however, was pleased about the first woman to graduate in architecture. C.H.C. Wright, Hill's professor at the University of Toronto, boycotted the ceremony. And the day before the graduation, *The Globe* reported "The Canadian woman has invaded one more profession."

Never one to follow the crowd, Hill took a job in the interior decorating department at Eaton's in Toronto following her momentous graduation. When she returned to Alberta in 1921, she found her reception as a "lady architect" to be considerably cooler than she might have anticipated from the thunderous ovation at her Toronto convocation. Hill's application for membership in the Alberta Association of Architects was denied. Perhaps anticipating her application, the association had devised a new requirement for a year's work experience. It was not until 1925, following post-graduate studies in town planning at the University of Toronto, a summer course at Columbia University, and a stint in an architectural firm in New York, that Hill was finally accepted by the Alberta association, becoming Canada's first registered woman architect.

Hill, however, was not the only woman to encounter resistance within the profession. The first woman to register with the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) was Alexandra Biriukova, best known for designing an icon of Canadian Modernism, the Toronto home of Group of Seven artist Lawren Harris. Like many of the women architects who practised in Quebec a generation later (see main story), she was born in Eastern Europe and arrived in Canada already trained as an architect. Unfortunately for the course of Canadian architecture, she resigned from the OAA in 1934 and spent the rest of her life as a tuberculosis nurse in Toronto.

In the pre-World War II era, there were only five women,

the attention was of a kind incidental to the work. In the substantial press coverage of Place Bonaventure, Vecsei's gender was called out in high relief. She clearly resented the implications and took every opportunity to distance herself from traditional women's work. She told the *Montreal Star* in 1965: "Please don't put me in the category of women who add their little pink touches. ... I'm not interested in home-building projects that are uniform and repetitious. ... Huge massive structures that allow for individual expression and require complex solutions to integrated problems excite me."

She was not alone. Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, a grad-

uate of McGill's school of architecture, had done the original master planning for Expo 67 with her husband. In 1980, at the University of Toronto, she became the first woman dean of architecture in North America. Dorice Brown Walford was a project architect for the innovative Telephone Pavilion at Expo and went on to specialize in hospital planning for several of the major medical centres in Montreal, including the Allan Memorial Institute at the Royal Victoria Hospital. Pauline Clarke Barrable, a member of the Place Bonaventure design team, eventually became senior architect for the Royal Bank of Canada. Sarina Altman Katz was



Esther Marjorie Hill (left), the first woman graduate in architecture in Canada, on her graduation day, June 4, 1920. Her peers cheered, but her professor refused to attend the ceremony.

To design his Toronto home, Group of Seven painter and scion of the Massey-Harris farm implement company Lawren Harris chose Russian-émigré architect Alexandra Biriukova, who was the first woman to register with the Ontario Association of Architects. The Harris home (right), considered an icon of Canadian modernism, was to be her only commission. During the Depression, she left architecture for work as a tuberculosis nurse in a Toronto hospital.

including Hill, registered as architects. Compared to other countries, the entry of Canadian women to the profession of architecture was quite late. Louise Blanchard Bethune was the first woman to register as a member of the American Institute of Architects, in 1888. Ethel Charles became a registered architect as early as 1898 in England.

After a second stint practising in New York, Hill returned to Alberta in 1928 to work with an Edmonton firm on such

projects as the Edmonton Public Library. When work dried up in the Depression, she turned her design skills to weaving, making gloves, producing greeting cards, and teaching. She moved to Victoria in 1936, but her architectural practice didn't really begin until after World War II, when she began designing modern, no-nonsense houses for returning veterans and their families, usually for a fee of \$50 per house. Her houses are easy to recognize. They are typically rectangular in form, with long sides framing a central entry. Hill's houses also feature deep eaves, coved ceilings, large windows, raised hearths, dressing rooms, a range of built-in furniture, and generous storage spaces.

Like many early women architects in English Canada, kitchens were an important part of her practice. And since kitchens are often among the first rooms to be modernized in older homes, Hill's kitchens constitute a mostly invisible legacy, hidden within the walls of buildings designed by other (men) architects. Hill's kitchens were efficient and undecorated, and included sensible features such as unusually high counters (ninety-nine centimetres) with rounded corners, Lazy Susans, built-in appliances, and pass-throughs between the cooking and eating zones. A Victoria kitchen she designed in 1966, for a home built in 1930, fetched her \$60.

Perhaps her own kitchen served as a model for those she designed, as her practice occupied the main floor of her parents' home until long after her father's death in 1960. Working from home was and is more common among women architects. Hill was unmarried, and seems to have had no employees or associates. Her father, Ethelbert Lincoln Hill, who had been chief librarian of the Edmonton Public Library from 1912-36, was a central figure in her life. She even wove the fabric from which his suits and coat were made.

Among the more public, large buildings Hill designed in Victoria is Glenwarren Lodge, Canada's first purpose-built housing for seniors. She was also responsible for the 1955 addition to the Emmanuel Baptist Church, now the Belfry Theatre.

Marjorie Hill died in 1985 at the age of eighty-nine, leaving a legacy of distinctive homes and buildings. Though a pioneer as a woman in the practice of architecture in Canada, she remains little known. That, one hopes, is about to change. ■

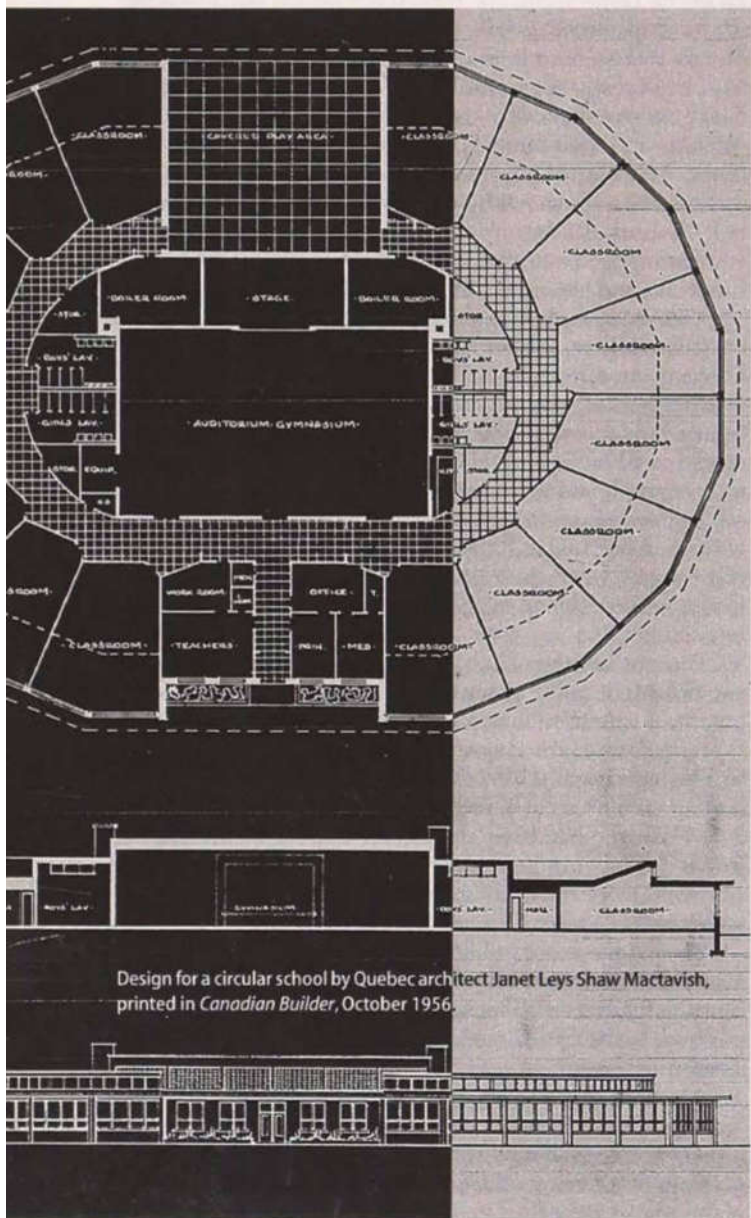
Some managers even queried the necessity for two salaries if a woman worked in the same office as her architect-husband.

In many cases, these women were helped by having had foreign educations. In Eastern Europe, where Vecsei was born, women architects were relatively commonplace. English-born van Ginkel worked in France with Modern master Le Corbusier, and specialized in city planning. Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan-born Walford, too, gained her early experience with Le Corbusier in Paris, where she also worked with Skidmore Owings and Merrill, known today for such buildings as Chicago's Sears Tower. Either being born in, or having trained in, Eastern Europe, where women architects were already a sizable percentage of the profession by the postwar period, gave them the knowledge, skill, and experience to make it in the male-dominated Montreal architectural scene.

But the times, as much as anything, had a felicitous effect on the role of women in architecture. In the 1960s in Montreal, a symbiosis took place between creativity, capital and challenges to old ways that opened doors hitherto closed. It was a turning point. Despite the barriers to women in the profession, women architects in Quebec found themselves with an unprecedented opportunity to contribute their expertise to the planning and design of enormous public and commercial ventures. The sheer scale of the commissions, in such projects as Expo 67, the speed with which projects were designed and then constructed, new ways of working in teams (such as with Place Bonaventure), and the use of new building technologies provided Quebec women architects with the experience to occupy the centre, rather than the margins, of the profession.

La Cité clippings did not.

Designing Women: Gender and the Architectural Profession by Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred is published by University of Toronto Press.

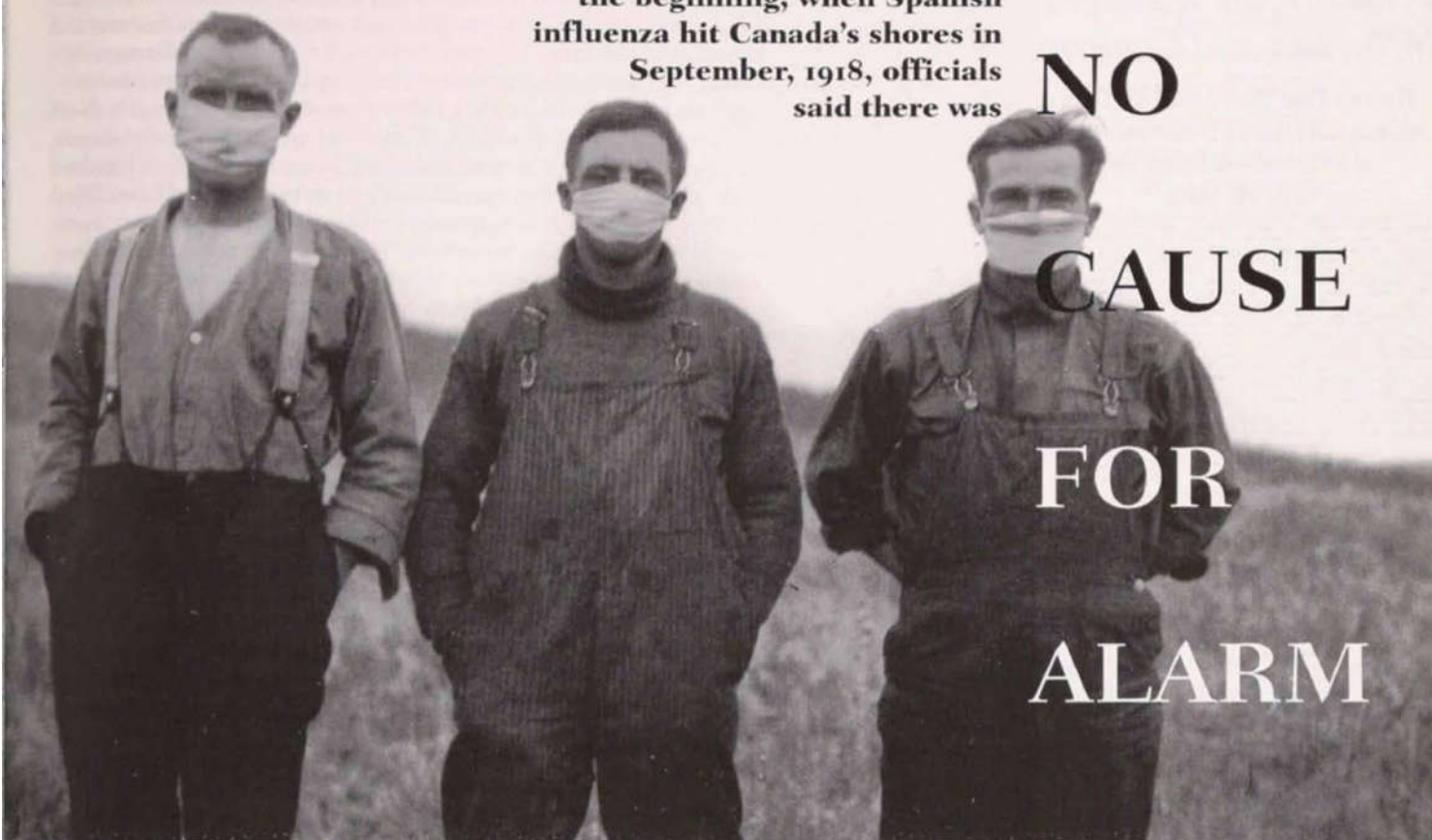


Design for a circular school by Quebec architect Janet Leys Shaw Mactavish, printed in *Canadian Builder*, October 1956.

by Ian Miller

When, at the end, the numbers were tallied, the deaths surpassed even the many who had fallen in the First World War. But, in the beginning, when Spanish influenza hit Canada's shores in September, 1918, officials said there was

NO CAUSE FOR ALARM



H-232

On September 8, 1918, in the waning months of the Great War, two students at Victoriaville College in Quebec came down with influenza and were sent home. Within days, however, another four hundred students quickly succumbed. It was the first well-publicized civilian occurrence in Canada of a disease that, by its close a year later, would kill 20 million people worldwide—more than twice the number who died in the theatre of war. Of fewer than 9 million Canadians, almost 2 million would get sick. Fifty thousand would die. In a matter of only weeks after the Victoriaville College outbreak, Canadian civilian death would rival the number of Canadians soldiers killed in four-and-a-half years of front-line fighting in Europe. The Spanish flu, as it was called, would prove to be the most destructive in history, ranking with the

Black Death of the fourteenth century as one of the severest disease catastrophes ever encountered.

But in early September 1918 Canadians knew nothing of the impending crisis. They were focused instead on a war whose death toll had risen to heights inconceivable when it broke out in August 1914. Reading newspaper headlines with a mixture of dread and excitement, they traced the advance of the Allies on the Western Front and read the daily casualty lists. Where war did not concern them, they worried about how, with the war industry's insatiable demand for coal, the country would get through the winter without freezing.

A few weeks later, references to the flu appeared in a Toronto paper. A military training base in Ontario—Niagara Camp—reported several cases. There was no cause for alarm, officials promised: patients had been quarantined. Nevertheless, the board

In 1918, the true cause of influenza was unknown, though it was generally suspected to be bacterial. Vaccines were produced as a consequence, but they failed to have any effect. In the wake of the growing panic, people tried all manner of remedies. Gauze masks, such as those worn by these Alberta men, were ubiquitous, and in some cases required by law. Others wore cotton bags around their necks holding mothballs, ate garlic buds, drank herb teas, or donned poultices of bran or lard or camphor. Some fumigated their homes with sulphur. Faith was even put in bloodletting and smoking tobacco. But it was the use of alcohol, at a time when temperance was fashionable and wartime conservation in effect, that caused the most controversy. It wasn't until the 1930s that the virus causing influenza was isolated.

In Montreal Alone There Are 20,000 Cases of Influenza and From All Points Come News of Its Spread.—In Halifax We Have 500 Cases.

Naval Armistice

the Churches, Theatres, Schools and Colleges in Halifax City to be Closed by Order of the Health Board: Preventative Measure Against Spread of Influenza

NEWS OF THE CITY

Spanish influenza at Halifax. The Spanish influenza had Halifax seems to be an old fact, as a sailor who had passed away at Lawlor's Saturday. Several of a couple members of of a French cable station were taken ill and was danger of the illness was diagnosed as Spanish influenza, spreading twenty-two crew were taken to the general station at Lawlor's Island. One of the men named Fortin passed away from pneumonia following Spanish influenza. The deceased, who was of France, was an experienced.

HALIFAX, October 14—The fight against the spread of Spanish influenza by the city health board continues unabated with conscientious vaccination, compared with other Canadian cities, and shows signs that the precautionary measures taken in the early stages have paid

Colleges, Schools and Clubs to be Closed by Order Preventative Meas- ure of Influenza

Heavy Earthquake In Porto Rico

Allies Capture Nish Germany Reports

B capital of North, has been occupied by extramural forces," the war office announced today. The official statement follows:

"Southernmost Rhodesia: There has been fighting in the region of Nkhot. In the face of strong attacks our troops retired in accordance with

As the effects of the war in Europe were being discussed, newspapers in Halifax, Toronto, and Vancouver began reporting on the rising influenza epidemic and the measures being taken to combat this scourge on the homefront.

TAKE UNIVERSITY CLASS ROOMS FOR INFLUENZA CASES

Over 180 Cases in City and Hospitals Are Overcrowded, Seven Deaths Reported.

SUNDAY COUNCIL MEETINGS

City Will Remain Open, Visiting Cut Out at Hospitals, Cases Under Quarantine.

Five Hundred Of Spanish Are Now

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of health warned anyone infected to remain in bed and to consult a physician. The disease began with chill, headache, and back pain. Within hours, the victim's face became flushed with fever. By the second day, fevers ran as high as 40°C, and lasted for forty-eight hours.

But infected soldiers continued to arrive on Canada's shores, having contracted the disease in the mud, squalor, and confinement of the trenches of France. (Despite the name "Spanish Influenza," so-called because Spain was the first country to publicize its existence, the virus originated at Fort Riley, Kansas, in March 1918. New recruits carried the disease to France where front-line conditions ensured its spread.) On September 22, a ship carrying five hundred American soldiers arrived on Canada's east coast. Critical cases filled military hospitals. Curling rinks and two church halls were commandeered to serve as temporary hospitals to handle the overflow. First aid and nursing classes were cancelled to allow personnel to help deal with the influx. A quarantine order was issued for several weeks to contain the outbreak. With no federal department of health, provincial and municipal health boards had to devise ways to handle the emergency on an ad hoc basis.

The news from south of the border was ominous. Canadian newspapers were filled with details of widespread flu outbreaks in the United States. During the final days of September, United States military authorities reported more than two thousand new cases a day. The eastern states were most immediately affected, prompting Massachusetts state officials to consider closing churches and schools.

Boston authorities cabled municipal officials across Canada to request medical and nursing aid. Halifax, which had received critical aid from the New England city in the wake of the December 1917 explosion that devastated its harbour (see "The Thank-You Tree," page 43), dispatched four nurses immediately. Many others placed their names on reserve lists, in case the crisis should deepen.

In the last days of September 1918, however, Canadians learned that they were not immune from the larger effects of the virus. In Halifax, sailor François Fortin died of pneumonia following a bout with Spanish influenza. The flu virus found its way across Canada, over the Rocky Mountains, and into Vancouver with amazing speed. By October 1, Vancouver officials were meeting to discuss recent outbreaks in their city.

The situation in Toronto was even worse. In the last three days of September several hundred cases developed, but city officials decided not to take any special precautions besides posting bulletins in the press. It proved a fateful decision. A small girl named simply "Robertson" of 166 Inglewood Crescent died in Toronto General Hospital on September 29. As a precaution, the child's school, Jesse Ketchum, was quarantined.

Halifax officials met to debate taking drastic action to stop the spread of the disease. A proposal for nothing less than the closing of all churches, schools, colleges, theatres, and public places in the city passed after one meeting. Local organizations and businesses had twenty-four hours to make the necessary arrangements. Any large-scale gathering was to be prevented.

Toronto planners were more restrained. Despite a rapidly growing number of cases, Toronto medical officer of health, Dr. C.J. Hastings, refused to consider closing schools. Teachers and school nurses were instructed, however, to send home any children who showed symptoms. The situation quickly deteriorated. Within a week, over ten thousand staff and students out of a total school population of 67,630 were sick. Severe cases ended up in hospital. By week's end, six hundred new patients filled all available beds. Doctors

property and timber loss, which will total many millions will surpass that claimed by any in the historic fires which have swept this region.

Heavy Earthquake In Porto Rico

SAN JUAN, October 11 — One hundred and fifty lives were lost in yesterday's earthquake in Puerto Rico. It was complicated by Governor Fiamy Meloy. Although many schools in the island reports damage, the party and swarming tourists there are unoppressed reports here of great damage in Santa Domingo from the earthquake.

Allies Capture Nish Germany Reports

B capital of North, has been occupied by rebel forces, the war office announced today. The official statement follows:

"Southern Rhodesia: There has been fighting in the region of Klip. In the face of strong attacks our troops retired in accordance with

and nurses began to experience symptoms.

Officials forecasted that the plague would affect half the city's population—over a hundred thousand cases. More patients were turned away from emergency rooms than could be accepted. By the end of the first week of October, eighty-three Torontonians were dead.

Drastic measures were put in place. Hospitals were closed to visitors. Officials pleaded with bereaved families to hold funerals in private to avoid compounding tragedies. The old Mossop Hotel on Yonge Street served as a temporary hospital. Coughing or sneezing in public places became a violation of the Public Health Act. Schools were closed. Conventions were banned. Dance halls were shut. Churches, theatres, cinemas, and art galleries were similarly affected. The medical officer of health requisitioned all automobiles to transport the sick and the dying. The Young Men's Christian Association membership campaign was postponed. And still the death toll climbed.

In Vancouver, officials sent George Haddin, managing secretary of the Vancouver General Hospital, to the convention of the American Hospitals Association at Atlantic City to learn how best to combat the spread of the flu. Haddin got more than he bargained for: he contracted the disease. Doctors debated whether or not he would have to be hospitalized.

Despite a few isolated outbreaks, the opening week of October was easier in Vancouver than it was in Toronto and Halifax. Only five cases had been diagnosed among local adults, and none had yet been reported in the school-age population. Mayor R.H. Gale promised residents that he would take drastic action if flu cases were reported in city schools. At the first sign of trouble, all schools, theatres, and other public places of assembly would be closed. In the meantime, every attempt was being made to try to deny the disease entry into Vancouver. Everyone arriving at railway stations and wharves was checked for symptoms. Any car or truck entering city limits was sealed and fumigated under the watchful eye of health department officials.

It was not enough. The first Vancouver death occurred on October 11. Harry Pench died, leaving his wife and child still fighting the disease. Sixty-five other residents were hospitalized, but city officials were reluctant to follow the lead of other major urban centres and institute dramatic measures.

As a result, the number of cases dou-

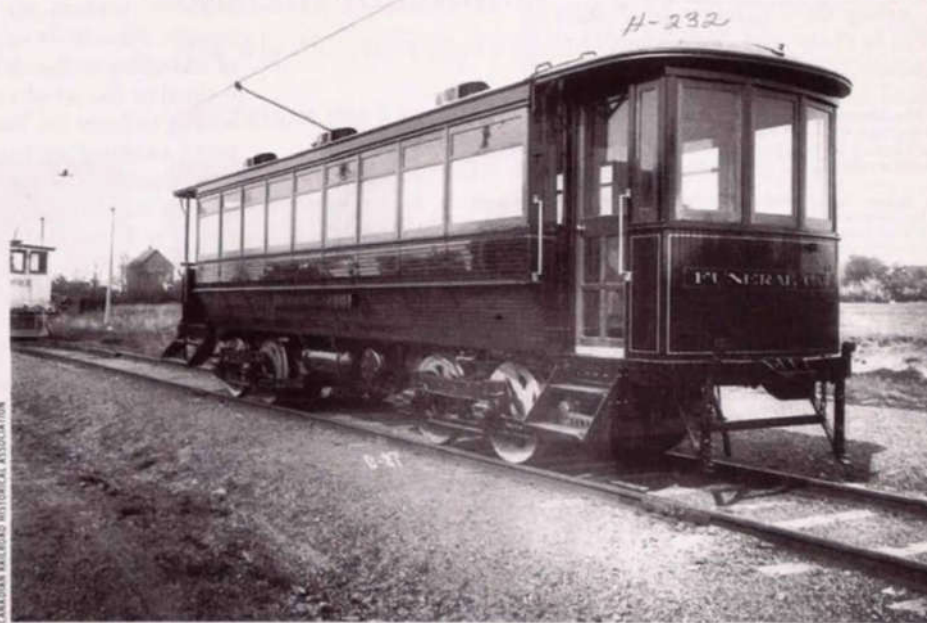
bled in two days. More than two hundred citizens were sick by October 14, and seven had died. And still, local authorities were loath to close the city. Instead, measures were put in place to take over classrooms at the University of British Columbia to handle the overflow of infected patients. One hundred new beds were made ready. All were filled within twenty-four hours. Only the desperately ill were admitted to hospital. Hospitals banned visitors, but schools and theatres stayed open.

Officials finally gave in on October 16 and began closing down the city. South Vancouver closed its schools and places of public gathering after fifteen teachers and twenty pupils reported being sick. On October 18, Vancouver closed all schools until further notice. Then provincial authorities stepped in. All across the province, pool rooms, churches, union halls, social clubs, dance halls, public libraries, universities, auction houses, and theatres were ordered shut. Violators were subject to a fine of \$100 and/or six months in prison.

The flu epidemic, however, translated into longer hours for stores that sold a product recently limited by the province—liquor. Facing repeated demands by medical professionals and the public, Mayor Gale arranged to have liquor stores open on Sunday. "Alcoholic liquors" were deemed essential to the treatment of various stages of the flu. Supplies were so short that Gale met with Police Commissioner Findlay to determine if confiscated liquor in police possession should be released for medical purposes. In the interests of public safety, the liquor

[Authorities] met to determine if confiscated liquor in police possession should be released for medical purposes. In the interests of public safety, the liquor was tested by city officials before being released to hospital staff.

In the fall of 1918, a special funeral car painted in black with gold lettering was instituted in Montreal to carry coffins to a Protestant cemetery outside the city. During the epidemic, as many as nine or ten coffins were transported each trip.



ferred from milder cases of the disease. Medical officers began to relax some of the precautions. Halifax stores were allowed to remain open until 9 P.M. By early November, churches, theatres, and schools in Halifax and Toronto were once again open for business. Toronto hospitals reported vacant hospital beds for the first time in a month.

The return to normality in Vancouver was delayed because the epidemic began in earnest in the West a little after it had decimated central and eastern Canada. Nevertheless, by the beginning of November, Vancouverites were nearing the end of their trial. Fewer cases were reported each day, and measures put in place to combat the spread of the disease were relaxed.

While the average mortality rate for American cities was 1 percent, for Canadian cities the figure fell somewhere between 0.25 and 0.5 percent. (Rural areas were not as hard hit.) Evaluating the numbers available for Toronto and Vancouver, two cities where total mortality figures for October are available, gives an indication of the enormous impact the disease had across the country. Toronto's total of 1,300 dead suggests as many as 260,000 Torontonians were incapacitated for four or five days dur-

ing the month of October—half the city's population. Vancouver suffered in almost the same proportion. The western city experienced 287 deaths in October, meaning that approximately 57,400 of the city's 120,000 residents were ill at some point during the month.

Citizen-soldiers in the trenches and civilians shared the burdens of the 1918 influenza epidemic. The long military struggle, however, was drawing to a close. In the middle of the night on November 11, 1918, a cable arrived with greatly anticipated news—the war was over. In response, church bells pealed, factory whistles wailed, and extra editions of newspapers were printed. People unable to gather in large crowds for over a month poured into the streets. They couldn't have known that the flu would plague Canadian cities again in the spring of 1919. Nor did they care.

A twenty-four hour victory party, more than fifteen hundred days in the making, had begun. ■

Ian Miller is a graduate of the Tri-University doctoral program in history. His thesis, "Our Glory and Our Grief: Toronto and the Great War" studied the impact of the First World War on the city of Toronto. He lives in Ottawa.

Women formed a reserve force of labour that stepped in to fill the gaps in the health care system. ... Hundreds volunteered for the taxing and dangerous labour of attending to the sick.



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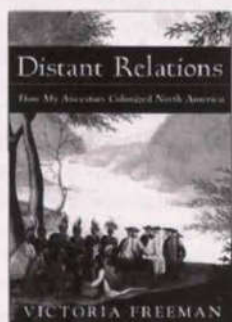
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POSTBOX PORTRAITS



by C.H. Russell

Canada's first stamp was the Three Pence Beaver, designed by Sir Sandford Fleming, and issued April 23, 1851. It was the world's first pictorial stamp. Previous stamps bore either the visage of a ruler or sovereign or some official device.

To many Canadians, postage stamps are an unremarkable part of day-to-day life, mere squares or rectangles of gummed paper that are affixed to envelopes and packages as proof of postage paid. Stamps are much more, however: they are in themselves messengers, paper ambassadors that carry national symbolic messages near and far. As Charles Comfort and Donald W. Buchanan wrote in the autumn 1947 issue of *Canadian Art*, the messages in stamps convey elements of "the character, the national dignity [and] the contemporary awareness" of the country that produced them. Indeed, taken collectively, the more than seventeen hundred stamps issued in Canada since 1851 are a magnificent gallery depicting our past. There, on the faces of our stamps, is a colourful and sweeping panorama of Canada's history, portraying in miniature not only our finest and darkest hours, but also the astounding variety of historical figures that helped shape and interpret our nation. From the First Peoples to the Fathers of Confederation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, virtually every realm of human endeavour is recorded on our stamps. As Pierre Berton has observed, "those who collect Canadian stamps will never say our history has been dull."

The adhesive postage stamp had its beginnings in Great Britain in 1840. Sir Rowland Hill introduced the Penny Black, a stark-looking stamp that depicts a youthful Queen Victoria in profile. Postage stamps were adopted in the United States

seven years later and made their debut in the Province of Canada on April 23, 1851. The first stamp to bear the name of Canada, designed by engineer Sir Sandford Fleming, was the red Three Pence Beaver – the first stamp in the world that did not depict a ruler or a sovereign (see left).

Before 1969, the office of the postmaster general administered postage stamp design in Canada. Changes in design were sometimes propelled by necessity, such as changes in the British monarchy or an alteration to postage rates by the Canadian parliament, or, occasionally, to print special stamps to distinguish notable events or phases in Canadian life. Selection of subject matter for the latter was governed by three basic rules, indicative of an agenda of national unity: stamp designs must be of broad national interest or significance, recognize or commemorate a historical or current event, or illustrate an important aspect of the Canada's economy. Moreover, the postmaster general was to ensure that stamp designs gave equal attention to all of Canada's regions and did not dwell on any particular group. (Before Canada's 1967 centennial, however, purely Canadian subjects made only occasional appearances on stamps. This changed dramatically afterward.)

The scope of designs for Canada's stamps since 1851 is vast, though the subject matter of Canadian stamp design was largely monolithic before the post-World War II period. It was certainly so during the Victorian era. From 1851 to 1901, Canadian stamps almost invariably bore the images of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Indeed, the only departures from the royal motif were the Beaver issues of 1851, 1852, and 1859, the depiction of explorer Jacques Cartier in 1855 and 1859, and the Imperial Penny Postage issue of 1898 – widely regarded as the world's first Christmas stamp. No stamps were issued to commemorate important Canadian events such as Confederation, the entry into Confederation of Manitoba and British Columbia (1870 and 1871, respectively), the epic completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, or the death of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1891.

Canadian stamp design displayed occasional glimmers of domestic pride in the post-Victorian period, however, beginning with the Quebec Tercentenary issue of July 16, 1908. Consisting of eight stamps, the issue includes representations of four prominent figures in Canadian history: Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain,

Marquis Louis Joseph de Montcalm, and General James Wolfe. Nine years later, on September 15, 1917, a single stamp commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation was issued. The Confederation issue featured the 1883 painting by artist Robert Harris (1849–1919) of twenty-six of the thirty-three delegates at the October 1864 Quebec Conference (the image was trimmed to fit the stamp's format).

A more pronounced sense of nationhood is evident in stamp designs after World War I. The sixtieth anniversary of Confederation was celebrated in the Confederation issue of June 29, 1927 and the Historical issue of the same date. The latter is especially significant as it depicted not only former prime ministers of Canada (Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier), but important political figures, such as Father of Confederation Thomas D'Arcy McGee and two advocates of Responsible Government, Robert Baldwin and Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine. Another notable Canadian political figure, Georges-Étienne Cartier, was recognized in a stamp issued September 30, 1931.

The middle and late 1930s saw the first instances of groups being represented on Canada's postage stamps. The Loyalists were remembered on a stamp issued on Dominion Day in 1934, as were Canada's war dead on July 28, 1938, and May 15, 1939.

It is after World War II, however, that we see a dramatic increase in the number of Canadian historical figures appearing on stamps. Canada's explorers and pioneers are widely represented throughout the 1950s and 1960s by images of Champlain, Jacques Cartier, Martin Frobisher, La Salle, Dollard des Ormeaux, Lord Selkirk, La Vérendrye, and William Grenfell, an explorer of Canada's north. Canada's own political life is represented with the Prime Minister issues of 1952 (Sir John Abbott and Alexander Mackenzie), 1954 (Sir John Thompson and Sir Mackenzie Bowell), and 1955 (Richard Bennett and Sir Charles Tupper). The scope broadens in the postwar period to include people from other walks of life, such as inventor Alexander Graham Bell in 1947 and poet E. Pauline Johnson in 1961.

The shift in design content was accompanied by a shift in form. Canadian stamp design had been roundly criticized in both public and artistic circles as generally bland and poorly executed. The 1947 Alexander Graham Bell issue, for example, was regarded disdainfully as an affront to modern taste, a design, in Charles Comfort's words, comparable to "an old-fashioned label on a

bottle of cure-all." Another 1947 design, the Citizen stamp issued to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of Confederation, did not fare much better. Comfort scorned the design as portraying Canada as "a country entirely devoid of taste and bankrupt of ideas ... unworthy of the great event in our history which it is intended to commemorate."

The Post Office Department heeded the criticism. By 1952 Canadian stamps assumed a fresher, more creative, and livelier appearance.

The celebration of Canadian historical figures on the nation's postage stamps proliferates in the period following the centennial year, 1967. The Stamp Advisory Committee, formed in 1969, authored specific criteria for the content of Canadian stamps. These revised policies did not depart significantly from the old, but they did expand on them. The criteria, which still stand today, specify that subject matter for Canadian stamp design is "primarily related to Canada and of national interest and significance," and should "evoke Canadian history, traditions, accomplishments or natural heritage; illustrate the social, cultural, political or economic life of Canada; commemorate the birth, the work or an event in the life of deceased persons recognized as having made outstanding contributions to Canada; foster a spirit of national and international goodwill and understanding." Anyone may submit ideas for stamp subjects.

A vast array of Canadian personalities have been thus immortalized. Most of the stamps are commemorative, issued on dates that bore direct relevance to their subjects: the anniversaries of their births or deaths. Beginning in 1975, however, the Stamp Advisory Committee began to generate sets of stamps bearing the images of numerous Canadian personalities, not so much to commemorate their births or deaths as to celebrate their lives and accomplishments. Many of these issues are occupation specific, issued under titles such as "Canadian Authors," "Canadian Doctors," "Canadian Musicians," and "Canadian Colonels." But many are not, and celebrate people of the past from different walks of life who helped to shape modern-day Canada.

Between 1975 and 1998, the post office released seven issues honouring twenty-one men and women, most of them not household names. We feature seven of them on the following pages.

There, on the faces of our stamps, is a colourful and sweeping panorama of Canada's history, portraying in miniature not only our finest and darkest hours, but also the astounding variety of historical figures that helped shape and interpret our nation.

From "Canadian Personalities" issue of May 30, 1975

Featured:

Marguerite Bourgeoys, founder of the Congrégation de Notre Dame de Montreal; Alphonse Desjardins, founder of Canada's first *caisse populaire* (credit union); Dr. Samuel Chown, Canadian Methodist minister and pioneer of the United Church of Canada; Dr. John Cook, founder of Queen's University

John Cook—born in Sanquhar, Scotland, on April 1805—received his education at the University of Glasgow and the University of Edinburgh, and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in late 1835.

In early 1836, Cook left Scotland for St. Andrew's Church in Quebec, where he attended to the spiritual needs of the Scottish regiments and the families of the Scottish business community. Intelligent and refined, he was well received and worked diligently for his church. It is largely in the field of education, however, that he had the most influence.

Cook became a trustee of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, and was instrumental in establishing the High School of Quebec in the early 1840s. Also appointed principal of a newly established Presbyterian college at Kingston, Upper Canada, he laboured successfully to keep it afloat financially, and obtained for it a charter as Queen's College. Affiliated with Queen's for many years, he served as its chancellor in 1877. He also served as the first principal of Morrin College in 1862, an institution that flourished under him.

A liberal thinker in a conservative age, he was committed to the idea that educational institutions should be guided by Christian principles. He was opposed to their being denominational, which he thought detrimental to broad community support and high academic standards. Moreover, Cook believed that science and Christianity were not only reconcilable, but that science could afford deeper insight into Scripture. Cook died at Quebec on March 31, 1892.

From "Famous Canadians" issue of September 16, 1977

Featured: Sir Sandford Fleming, engineer, scientist, inventor, and designer of Canada's first postage stamp; Arctic explorer Joseph Bernier

Joseph Bernier, a native of L'Islet, Quebec, was born January 1, 1852. He began his maritime career at age fourteen, working as a cabin boy. At seventeen he had his first captaincy, of a ship transporting lumber to England, and from 1869 to 1895, he commanded various vessels, sailing to Europe, Africa, and Australia. He cultivated a keen interest in polar navigation, meanwhile, and during a sabbatical from sea life, mapped a route to the North Pole, which remained unexplored. Before he could mount an expedition, however, his vessel, *The Arctic*, was called into service by the federal government to patrol the eastern Arctic. Between 1904 and 1911, he explored the Arctic Archipelago and made reports to the federal government that contributed significantly to knowledge of the Arctic. In 1909, he erected a plaque on Melville Island, which gave Canada official sovereignty over the region

From "Canadian Personalities" issue of April 14, 1986

Featured: Konwatsi'tsiaienni (Molly Brant), Mohawk leader; Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, Quebec author

and the natural resources within. After working as a private trader on Baffin Island and commanding a convoy ship throughout the First World War, Bernier retired in 1925. He died in 1934 in Lévis, Quebec.

Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé was born in Quebec on October 30, 1786, the son of a legislative councillor. Educated in classics and law, he entered the bar in 1811, but by the 1820s he found himself burdened with large debts. Unable to appease his creditor, the Crown, de Gaspé took refuge at his mother's estate at Saint-Jean-Port-Joli in 1823, where he remained for over a decade. The Crown was relentless, however, and de Gaspé was incarcerated. After much legal wrangling, he was released in 1841 after serving over three years in prison.

De Gaspé's long withdrawal from mainstream society served him well, however; it fomented his literary interests, and the rural surroundings, with its farmers and their abundance of stories, provided him with material for his future writings. After reintegrating himself into Quebec society and restoring his reputation, he published in 1863 *Les Anciens Canadiens*, which was well received. The following year, it appeared in English translation as *The Canadians of Old*. In 1865 it was adapted for stage. *Les Anciens Canadiens* and de Gaspé's *Mémoires* provide an invaluable window into life in Quebec around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. De Gaspé died at Quebec on January 29, 1871, a distinguished man and a notable contributor to Canadian literature.

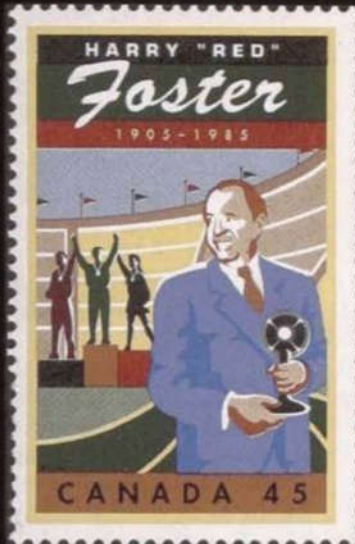
From "Canadian Personalities" issue of November 18, 1988

Featured: Frances Ann Hopkins, painter; Angus Walters, skipper of the *Bluenose* schooner

Angus Walters was born in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia on June 9, 1882. He began his maritime career at age thirteen aboard his father's fishing vessel, the *Nyanza*, and earned a reputation for tracking down schools of fish and coaxing the optimum speed from ships he piloted.

He began racing in 1920, steering his ship the *Gilbert B. Walters* (named after his son) to second place in the International Fisherman's Trophy competition. (A mast dislodged by a strong wind prevented him from winning.)

Walters was convinced that constructing a faster yet commercially viable schooner was practical. With the skill of maritime architect William Roue (also the subject of a Canadian postage stamp) and the shipwrights of Lunenburg, the *Bluenose* was completed in early 1921. Walters commanded it for seventeen years, earning worldwide acclaim in the International Fisherman's



Trophy races. After beating her old rival, the *Theband*, in 1938, the advent of World War II and the overall decline of fishing on the Grand Banks compelled both the *Bluenose* and Walters to retire in 1939. Not wishing to see his beloved ship go to auction, Walters bought out its shareholders but was forced to sell the *Bluenose* to the West India Trading Company in 1942. Sadly, the ship went down in the waters off Haiti in 1946. When notified, Walters, who by then ran a dairy business, rushed to the wreck to determine if salvage was possible but returned disheartened. Nevertheless, the legacy of the *Bluenose* and Walters lives on—the ship still graces the Canadian dime. Angus Walters died in Lunenburg in 1968.

From "Great Canadians" issue of August 12, 1994

Featured: William "Billy" Avery Bishop, World War I flying ace; Mary Travers, songstress

Mary-Rose-Ann Travers was born in Newport on the Gaspé Peninsula in 1894. Demonstrating musical abilities at an early age, she learned to play a variety of instruments: the fiddle, the accordion, and the harmonica. Despite her gifts, she began her working life as a domestic in Montreal. Travers married Édouard Bolduc, a plumber, in 1914.

It was not until 1927 that she embarked on a professional musical career. She caught the attention of Conrad Gauthier, the organizer of a production called "Veillées du bon vieux temps," who encouraged her to sing and compose as well as play fiddle. Soon afterwards, she recorded "La Cuisinière," her own composition, and "La Servante," both selling 12,000 copies in Quebec and making La Bolduc, as she became known, a household name.

Throughout the Great Depression, Travers toured Canada and the United States to help support her family. Her recordings, which include such titles as "L'Enfant vole" and "Les Agents d'assurance," were written and sung in informal French. Travers's music struck a chord with the common people, giving voice to the realities of the Depression and ensuring her a respected place in Canadian musical history. Many of La Bolduc's recordings have been reissued, and some modern artists have recorded their own interpretations of her work. Mary Travers died in 1941.

From "Prominent Canadians" issue of September 26, 1997

Featured: Lionel Chevrier, instrumental in

Martha Black was born Martha Louise Munger in Chicago on February 24, 1866, and educated at St. Mary's of Notre Dame, graduating in 1886. The gentility of the high society into which she was born, however, did not coincide with her real interests, and in 1898 she departed for the far north with her brother to participate in the Klondike

creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway; Judy LaMarsh, politician, writer, and women's rights advocate; Joseph-David-Réal Caouette, Social Credit leader; Martha Black, Yukon MP and adventurer.

gold rush. Her husband at the time, William Purdy, did not accompany her.

Having survived a dangerous foot journey through Chilkoot Pass, a harsh winter, disease, and a lonely childbirth, Black entered into a gold-mining partnership and set up a sawmill operation in Dawson by 1901. In 1904, she married lawyer George Black, who later became a Conservative member of Parliament for Yukon.

In 1935, when her husband's ill health forced him to temporarily retire from public life, Martha campaigned in his stead and was elected to the House of Commons at age seventy—the sole Conservative in a resounding Liberal victory. As Canada's second female MP, Black focused on concerns such as conservation, public health, and pensions for the blind. She kept her seat in Parliament until 1940, when her husband returned to politics.

Black also travelled to Great Britain, where she delivered hundreds of lectures on the Yukon. She died October 31, 1957, at age ninety-one.

From "Legendary Canadians" issue of August 15, 1998

Featured: Napoléon-Alexandre Comeau, nature expert; Phyllis Munday, mountaineer; Bill Mason, canoeist, artist, and filmmaker; Harry "Red" Foster, founder of the Canadian Special Olympics

Harry "Red" Foster—sports promoter, broadcaster, businessman, and philanthropist—was born in Toronto on March 1, 1905. After a career in football (his team, the forerunner of today's Toronto Argonauts, won the Grey Cup in 1930), he directed his considerable energy to sports promotion, starting as a radio personality in April 1931. Covering a wrestling match for radio station CKNC in Toronto was one of many "firsts" for Foster, which included the first nationwide radio broadcast of a football game in Canada (1931) and the country's first commercial television broadcast (1948).

Though an accomplished celebrity and entrepreneur (he opened an advertising agency in 1940), Foster was also noteworthy for his efforts on behalf of the disabled. After accompanying a floor hockey team to the first International Special Olympic competitions at Chicago in 1968, thus ensuring Canada a place at the games, Foster established the Canadian Special Olympics in Toronto the following year.

Foster's concern for the disabled stemmed from firsthand experience. His younger brother, John, suffered from blindness and developmental disability and his wife, Kathryn, suffered a severe head injury while horseback riding in 1946. Harry Foster died in Toronto on January 18, 1985. 

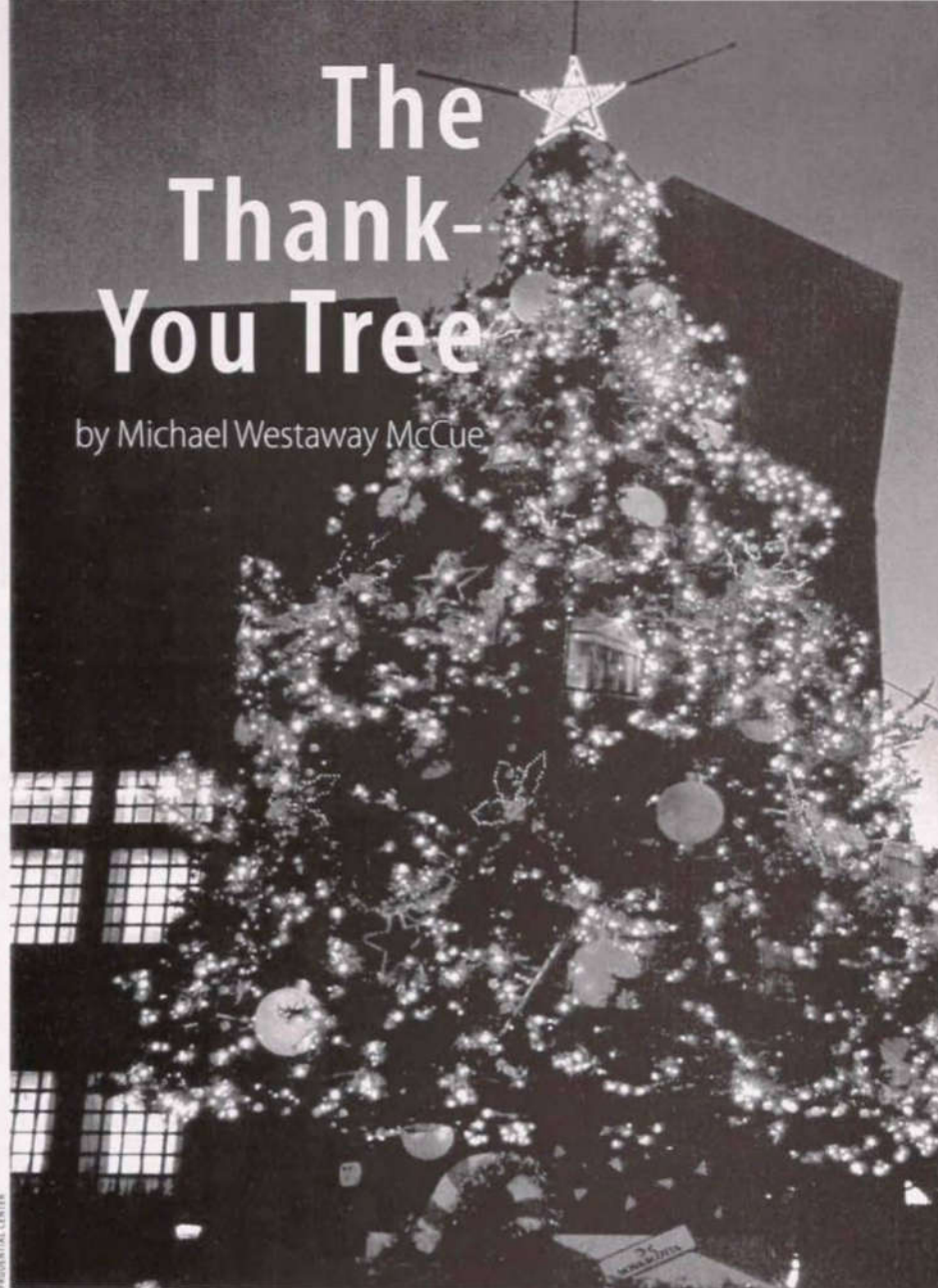
C.H. Russell is a Toronto freelance writer and perpetual student of history.

The Canadian Maritimes and New England have long enjoyed close historical, economic, and cultural ties. In these provinces, the states to the south are called simply "Boston States," a reference that reflects a kinship born from the migration of legions of Maritime sons and daughters. So eighty-three years ago, when disaster struck Halifax, Nova Scotia, it was only natural that New England, with Massachusetts at the forefront, helped without reservation. To this day, that aid is commemorated each Christmas in a unique and distinctive way. ❁

December 6, 1917 started as a brisk and clear day in Halifax Harbour. Across the ocean Europe was enduring her third year of the Great War, and the vital Atlantic seaport was strained to its limits as it ferried a constant flow of fighting men and materials to Canada's Old World allies. This day was no exception. By early morning the port was teeming with activity.

Around 8:45, in a section of the harbour known as the "Narrows," the *Imo*, a Norwegian vessel serving in the Belgian relief, struck the French ship *Mont Blanc*. On her way to join a convoy to Europe, the *Mont Blanc* was packed with explosive materials such as picric acid and TNT. Stored in the hold of the ship, the deadly cargo did not detonate; however a fire started onboard when drums of benzol, a high-octane fuel lashed to the deck, ignited. The French ship's crew took to their lifeboats and shouted warnings as they approached shore. Ablaze and pilotless, the *Mont Blanc* drifted on a twenty-minute trip toward Halifax's inner harbour.

At 9:06, just as the Halifax Fire Department assembled at Pier 6 to fight the blaze, the *Mont Blanc*'s explosives unleashed a man-made fury unrivalled until the incineration of Hiroshima. Witnesses compared the blast to that of a volcano erupting, creating both a tidal wave that hammered the shore as well as a shock wave that was felt



Christmas tree in front of Prudential Center, Boston, 1999. The lighting of the tree December 6 signals the start of the Christmas season.

in Sydney, over 430 kilometres away. The *Mont Blanc*'s deck gun was later found thrown over five kilometres.

More than 1,600 people were killed instantly. Eighteen percent of the population of 50,000 was injured, including 200 blinded by flying glass. The city's north end, over 1,300 square metres, was demolished. To further the misery, the next day a blizzard dumped over forty centimetres of snow on the thousands of homeless and traumatized Haligonians.



Massachusetts governor Samuel W. McCall, wearing a bowler hat, visits the Halifax apartments named after him. The Massachusetts-Halifax relief committee organized the construction of forty two-storey buildings on the city's exhibition grounds as temporary shelter in the wake of the explosion. Charles Vaughn, a future mayor of Halifax, rests in the baby carriage.

News of the explosion reached Massachusetts the same morning and, without waiting for an official request for assistance from Halifax, Governor Samuel W. McCall commissioned a

special train. Packed full of medical supplies and hospital cots, it left at 10:17 P.M. the same day, with thirteen doctors, ten nurses, and other members of the Massachusetts State Guard. No doctor or nurse had more than an hour and a half notice that they were needed in Halifax. The train was sent straight through as an express, all others held aside. Upon arrival, A.C. Ratschesky, head of the Boston relief party, delivered the following message: "Anything that you want for your people which we have or can get, you can have. ... You have but to tell us."

Of importance almost equal to medical supplies was Halifax's urgent need for glass, putty, and other materials to replace the thousands of windows shattered by the blast, the impact of which was magnified by the winter storm. A week after the explosion, the ships *Calvin Austin* and *Northland* arrived from Boston carrying over \$300,000 worth of supplies, including construction materials, and glaziers, engineers, and communications experts to help reestablish the city's infrastructure.

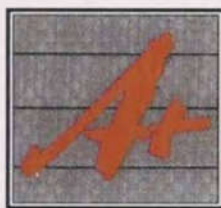
The Massachusetts-Halifax relief committee was established and organized the construction of temporary homes—forty two-storey buildings containing 320 tenement-style apartments—on the city's exhibition grounds, which were named the Governor Mc-

H-231

Call Apartments after the Massachusetts governor. The committee also provided furniture to outfit the homes. As well, Halifax's new streets were given decidedly New England names—Endicott, Maine, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and, in honour of Good Samaritan neighbour New Brunswick, Fredericton.

A Massachusetts physician opened a neurology clinic at the Halifax YMCA, a location already converted to a hospital. A medical-social service, almost exclusively staffed by volunteers from Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital, was created to include a visiting nurse program. Despite their numbers, Massachusetts officials made it clear they would only assist Nova Scotian officials, not supplant their authority.

While Massachusetts was far from alone in assisting Halifax, the city and province remembered the rapidity and extent of the continuing generosity of the state. Nova Scotia did not need to wait long to repay her debt. In the fall of 1918, Boston was the first major U.S. city hit by the most deadly of three waves of the Spanish influenza pandemic (see "No Cause for Alarm," page 33), resulting in the deaths of thousands of Bostonians. After the 1917 explosion and the convergence of public health experts, Halifax had turned into a test bed. At the forefront of public hygiene awareness, Halifax medical authorities were able to bring their approaches to Boston and help arrest the rampage of the disease. Perhaps more importantly, Halifax sent scores of nurses to



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The 1999 tree loaded and ready to go. The Lunenburg County Christmas Tree Producers Association began the tradition of sending an evergreen to Boston in 1971 as a token of thanks for the aid Massachusetts provided after the 1917 Halifax explosion.

NOVA SCOTIA NATURAL RESOURCES

help those convalescing with influenza.

The province's thanks did not end there. In 1971, the Lunenburg County Christmas Tree Producers Association started a tradition of sending an ever-

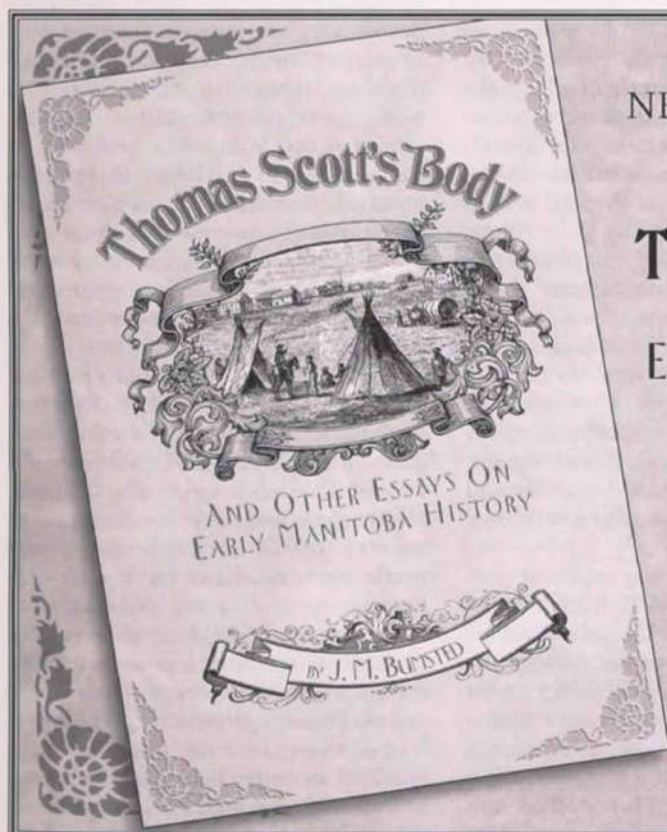
green cut from the tree farms of Nova Scotia to Boston as a symbol of gratitude. The Nova Scotia Department of Forestry conducts a year-round search for an appropriate tree, the height of

which averages twenty meters. No tree is overlooked. Some have even come from such places as a golf course and the front yard of a private home. Not only is the tree donated, private companies excavate it and ship it to Boston at cost.

Each year by mid-November, the tree arrives amid great fanfare and is raised in front of Boston's Prudential Center, a shopping and business hub in the city's Back Bay section. With corporate sponsorship from area businesses, the lighting of the tree December 6 has become an annual event that signals the start of the Christmas season in Boston.

As the remaining survivors of the explosion—a few at best—pass on and living memory fades, Halifax's annual Yuletide token of appreciation ensures that Massachusetts' helping hand will never be truly forgotten. ■

Michael Westaway McCue is a graduate student of political science at Bridgewater State College in Massachusetts. His story "The Aroostook War" appeared in the August/September 2000 edition of the *Beaver*.



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Featured Broadcast

■ **Canada: A People's History** Episodes 1 and 4

Canadian Broadcasting Network

Producer Mark Starowicz

30 hours in 15 parts. Premiered

October 22, 2000

Special Section: Children's Books

begins on page 48

Canada's History Unfolds

In 1829 a middle-aged scullery maid, born and raised in Newfoundland, sickens and dies. Not long after, she becomes a footnote in Canadian history. Now, she is making her return as a new symbol worthy of historical meaning. She is also worthy of being seen and heard, and to be played by a dramatic actor on television.

The woman is Shawnadithit, last of the Beothuk group, a First Nation of the Americas. Her story leads off CBC's massive new history of Canada, *Canada: A People's History*. And as the saturation advertising for the series proclaims, this is the first time that the full history of Canada has been told on film or television.

Starting with the Beothuk story tells us a lot about the series: its approach, its style, and its politics. Unlike standard Canadian history written even twenty years ago, a native tragedy gets top billing. Historians can no longer ignore that the first contact between European and aboriginal peoples was as much calamity as triumph. Shawnadithit's story now holds symbolic or representational value. Her fate was not accidental or unusual, it was all too typical.

The Beothuk sequence shows us right away that this series will bring in ordinary people, the "insignificant" of their time who now carry greater value. The sequence tells a story, in its best historic-present grammar, for dramatic emphasis. It features a tragic character. And, like the rhythm of a fiction film scene, the sequence starts with a

mystery, develops an emotional centre, and carries forward to a sense of completion. Shawnadithit's story is a first-person testimony, but one whose larger meaning is shaped by a third-person, modern narrator. Thus we, as viewers, learn this piece of history through an actor's portrayal, through music, contemporary maps and illustrations, and primarily through the narrator.

A People's History will unfold before us onscreen, week after week, over two TV years. It represents the new mainstream history of Canada. This mammoth work transmits more power and persuasive force than all the previous textbook writers, archivists, and school teachers combined. It demands, and will certainly receive, serious attention. It hardly seems rash to predict that in years ahead this will be the dominant text for all Canadian high school, even college, students, outside Quebec.

The series will raise the prestige of the CBC, thereby winning allies in Liberal cabinets, perhaps securing its funding for years to come. Here, clearly, is a task that only the CBC could have taken on. Here, finally, is the *raison d'être* of the much maligned broadcaster.

A Viewing Position Think of my remarks here as an invitation to watch the series together. I'm not going to quibble about things left out or tell you how the series may be accurate or flawed. I'm not going to uncover, like some local newspaper critic, the real meaning or the hidden agendas of the series. I'm certainly not going to tell you the "truth" about Canadian history.

Neither will I promote, like so many postmodern academics, the notion that history doesn't exist, that it's all a question of the historian's bias, that all attempts to describe the past are fiction. I do, however, have a point of view. I occupy a place, socially and historically, that partially determines my interpretations.

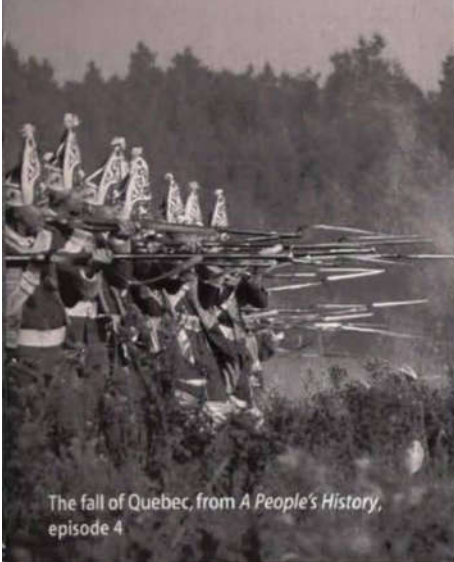
The New Mainstream *A People's History* reflects its time and amply displays many differences from earlier versions of the standard story. Unlike most bygone histories, in this series native peoples are recognized as nations, not merely tribes. A nation implies, at the very least, a more sophisticated society, with a conscious structure and set of

relationships. In fact, the first episode refers to the pre-conquest Americas as "A Continent of Nations." Within that, the Beothuk tragedy becomes metaphorical or symbolic—not an isolated case but a more typical one of the "dislodged and disappeared." This phrase, spoken by the narrator, and first used in Argentina's Dirty War of the 1970s, carries a powerful link to state-sponsored violence and has probably never been used before on CBC-TV.

The new mainstream provides viewers with more detail. An awesome range of visual material has been assembled and created. The producers assume admirably that Canadians want to delve deeper and are capable of handling greater complexities of history. For example, discussion of the ancient migrations from Asia to the Americas, via land bridges or by sea, is fleshed out with specific examples of how people moved and how they spread out once settled here.

The series also tips its hat to a history "from the bottom up" where ordinary people are acknowledged as shapers of history. In Episode 4 on the fall of Quebec the engrossing firsthand accounts of a British sailor and a Quebecois nun help draw us in stark personal terms onto the Plains of Abraham. This turn toward poor and working-class people reflects a thirty-year pressure from social historians to be included in the mainstream, new research methods, and a real insistence from students, readers, and social groups, tired of learning history solely through the kings, governors, and prime ministers of the world.

Each program comprises short segments ten to fifteen minutes long, headed by poetic or dramatic titles, such as "Vision Quest," "River of Fire," and "The World Turned Upside Down." This lends a clarity to the overall structure and provides distinct segments suitable for "teaching units" (and commercials, of course, though not for its initial screenings). The leisurely, some would say slow, pacing in the first native-peoples films reflects a sign of respect for audiences. Perhaps attention span may be longer than some believe. In these sections on native lives a leisurely pacing also works well to emphasize a calmer, spiritual, and ordered way of



The fall of Quebec, from *A People's History*, episode 4

life, very different from the modern.

The series' producers accept that a basic story of Canadian history should be told, partly because few Canadians know it and schools have abdicated from the task. The new mainstream also knows enough to pluck selected features from the international trends toward innovative documentary. These include the move toward mixed forms of drama and nonfiction, using performance, reenactment, and a mix of actors and nonactors. In addition, many films now stage their narrators or actors to face the camera and speak to us as viewers directly.

Clinging to the Word Yet the new mainstream history documentary retains core values from the old. Many of these features, especially its didactic tone, long ago proved hazardous to the form. A feeling of sobriety, even smugness creeps in. The sense of watching an illustrated lecture far removed from the visual possibilities of film art prevails. Above all, at the CBC, the new mainstream retains Voice of God narration. The VOG and other didactic onscreen presenters have been satirized for years, memorably in Monty Python skits now thirty years old. A narrator/expert, usually John Cleese, could pop into the scene anywhere, at any time. The camera might pan majestically across an open field and find him neck deep in bog, chattering happily on the historical significance of this or that.

A People's History eliminates expert witnesses. No professional historians wander on-screen pondering signifi-

cance. The narration pushes them all aside. The problem with experts, for those engaged in the mainstream, is that others with equal credentials can refute them. They are also flesh-and-blood people that viewers will judge by their speech, body language, social type, or place of work. This can lead to confusion and contradiction, a state quite troubling for a definitive history.

Instead, the series lays out for us an apparently undisputed "grand narrative," the end result of a discipline's scholarly work, and a consensus of historical thinking. Canada's history, while not quite *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, represents a never-ending chain of cause-and-effect gliding forward with a relentless and exciting inevitability.

All of this is filtered through a narrator who speaks from everywhere and nowhere. It serves as a direct address to the audience, but from a masked source. In *A People's History* we hear not only the milder form of documentary commentary, but an all-pervasive, wall-to-wall, form of control. In some sequences, all the letter reading, acting, music, action, and visuals are not only organized but overwhelmed by that narration.

The new Voice of God is a woman. Yet the narration written for her still comes from the old position of the objective journalist who can see more clearly than participants or biased practitioners, those historical beings, that is, with a point of view.

Film as History Do films make bad history? Many historians continue to argue that films should be judged by the same criteria as written work. Yet, as U.S. historian Robert Rosenstone reminds us, "A film is not a book. An image is not a word." Standard criticism believes that history on film is unreliable because it romanticizes or turns everything toward the overly dramatic. Film, these writers say, by its nature as a recorder of specific images, cannot deal with generalizations.

But do not all written histories create periods, categories, or eras—Renaissance, Gilded Age, Quiet Revolution—or focus on single actors? Written histories change in meaning over time as well. The study of historiography shows that writing is as susceptible to the bias of the age as any other commentary.

All historians are faced with too much data. They must select, condense, and prune. Writers as well as filmmakers must organize their materials, emphasize some elements and eliminate others. It is not that films condense and books do not. This indicates that we must judge films by a separate, though not lower, set of criteria than books. Each form has its strengths and weaknesses. For *A People's History* the appropriate comparison is to popular history writing as practised by the Pierre Bertons, Maggie Sigginses, and Christopher Moores of the field, writers of solid work for a general audience.

Written history is good at large generalizations and can efficiently marshal huge groupings of facts, data, and documents. Film history tends to work more on a specific level, with specific people. But film can also communicate emotions, visualize the subtleties of context, and, at its best, create the "structure of feeling" of a time and place. This is essential history.

As Rosenstone argues, "Films have found new ways of getting close to historical subjects, of seeing through their eyes and expressing the immediacy of moments in their lives." Historical films force us to rethink and broaden what we mean by the word *history*.

When we say that a film is not a book and an image is not a word the logic seems obvious. In *A People's History*, however, these sorts of statements appear to make Starowicz nervous. He hangs on desperately to the authority of the word, hence the continuous narration. Like a nervous eater he pours his phrases like thick brown gravy over all the other elements of the film.

Why do this particular history? Why now? Who gets to tell the story? Such questions might serve as tools, or reminders for us while watching the series unfold. How does television help or hinder our knowledge of the past? Will the programs raise for their viewers these questions and answers?

Let's hope this project becomes a two-way communication that welcomes and values debate, principled criticism, and an openness to divergent opinions—a real "peoples" history, in effect.

Peter Steven is a historian, writer, and teacher of film history. He lives in Toronto.

Children's Books

With Christmas and children indelibly linked, Reviews this issue devotes a special section to books for young people. Winnipeg educator Dave Jenkinson has dipped into the gratifying bounty of recently published juvenile literature with Canadian history themes and come up with some winners.

As I recall, history in public school was a deadly subject involving storing in my short-term memory an endless list of names, dates, causes of war, terms of treaties, and other boring bits of information for later test regurgitation. Only years later did I discover history's true excitement. Fortunately, today's children and adolescents have access to excellent books that bring the subject to life. The contents of recent historical novels, picture books, and nonfiction works span many centuries of the nation's history.

Like the authors of the best juvenile fiction, writers of historical fiction must create reader-engaging characters and involve them in exciting plots. However, the genre also demands that authors set their stories in accurate historical contexts. Some elect to place their plots within the constraints of actual events while others choose to embed their tales within the broad sweep of a historical period. Bad juvenile historical fiction

terms of the clash of cultures. John and Jane MacNeil, thirteen-year-old twins, are residing on the family estate in England when their military father, Captain Lord James MacNeil, returns home in 1760 with the intention of taking John back to Canada with him. As he explains to his wife, "A trip to Canada will make a man of John. He is too soft, you know." Because of his artistic abilities, John is to map and sketch this new land, something he does over the next three years. Unlike many of his countrymen, he embraces Canada and its original inhabitants, and, at the book's conclusion, John's father acknowledges, "This place has claimed you as its own, I'm afraid." The author's note informs readers that two of the book's characters were the author's grandparents "eight generations back."

Likely my interest in history would have been kindled much earlier had I encountered a book like Eric Walters's *The Bully Boys*, which introduces adolescents to the amazing

Featured Books

■ *A Circle of Silver*

By Maxine Trottier
Stoddart Kids, Toronto, 1999
216 pp., \$9.95 paper

■ *The Bully Boys*

By Eric Walters
Viking, Toronto, 2000
225 pp., \$22.99 hardcover

■ *Jeremy's War 1812*

By John Ibbitson
Kids Can Press, Toronto, 2000
207 pp., \$7.95 paper

■ *Charlie Wilcox*

By Sharon E. McKay
Stoddart Kids, Toronto, 2000
221 pp., \$9.95 paper

■ *Caged Eagles*

By Eric Walters
Orca Book Publishers,
Victoria, 2000
256 pp., \$8.95 paper

■ *Flags*

By Maxine Trottier
Illustrated by Paul Morin
Stoddart Kids, Toronto, 1999
32 pp., \$19.95 hardcover

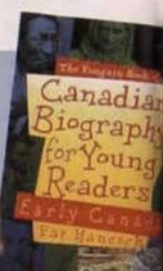
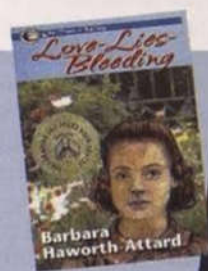
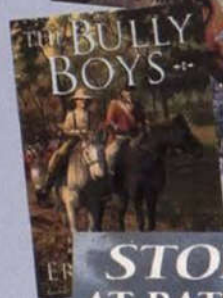
■ *Storm at Batoche*

By Maxine Trottier
Illustrated by John Mantha
Stoddart Kids, Toronto, 2000
32 pp., \$19.95 hardcover

occurs whenever authors' desires to educate outweigh their need first to entertain.

When you finish a good book, nothing is more satisfying than knowing that more of the same is available. Such is the case with Maxine Trottier's *A Circle of Silver*, the first volume in a projected trilogy. Though the Seven Years' War is the general time setting and the book does reference actual events, Trottier is more concerned with giving her young readers a feeling for what it was like to live in the middle of the eighteenth century, especially in

exploits of Lieutenant James FitzGibbon, who commanded the Green Tigers, a.k.a. the Bully Boys, during the War of 1812. Walters's narrator is Thomas Roberts, fourteen, the "man" on the family farm since his father joined the militia to fight alongside the British. Lamenting "missing out on all the action," Tommy stumbles into a situation involving FitzGibbon and some looting American soldiers. Tommy's brief involvement with the Bully Boys becomes extended, and he is present during many of their engagements, including Laura



Secord's arrival with her famous warning. Though Walters gives Tommy his own storyline, which, in part, deals with his having killed two American soldiers, readers will be attracted by the chutzpah displayed by FitzGibbon, who uses his quick intelligence to bluff superior American forces into surrendering. Those wanting more about this period can turn to another good read, John Ibbittson's *Jeremy's War 1812*, a reissue of 1812: *Jeremy and the General*, which has Jeremy Fields, fifteen, becoming General Isaac Brock's batman.

Sealing and fishing off Labrador's coasts were Charlie Wilcox's life goals, not being a participant in the July 1, 1916, bloody Battle of the Somme. However, in 1915, none of this seems likely for fourteen-year-old Charlie, a resident of Brigus, Newfoundland's busiest port, because Charlie has been born with a club foot. When an operation corrects the defect, Charlie defies his mother's wish that he not become a sealer by attempting to stow away on a sealing vessel. Surprisingly, Charlie instead finds himself on a troopship ferrying the Newfoundland Regiment to Europe, and, after a chain of believable events, he becomes a stretcher bearer on the regiment's disastrous day. Sharon E. McKay's multidimensional novel *Charlie Wilcox* is particularly strong in its recreation

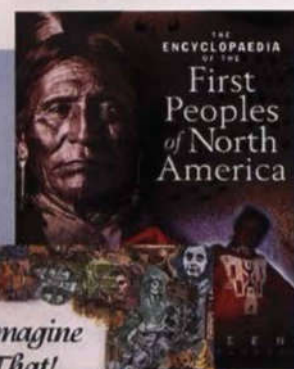
changed everything. Tadashi is labeled an "enemy alien," and the book concludes with Tadashi's fishing village about to be evacuated. Switching to Tadashi as narrator, *Caged Eagles* spans the village's evacuation and the period the Fukushima family, along with other Japanese-Canadians, was housed in a barn in Vancouver's Hastings Park before being sent to inland areas of Canada. Two decades ago, Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* offered Canadian adolescents a first-person account of this shameful period, and Walters's work serves as a fresh reminder to learn from the past.

Another vision of this event is found in *Flags*, a picture book by Maxine Trottier. During a summer that Mary, a young girl, spends with her grandmother in British Columbia, she meets the next door neighbour, Mr. Hiroshi, who has a wondrous garden that includes a pond "ringed with small, blue irises my grandmother called flags" and stocked with koi. When war comes and Mr. Hiroshi must vacate his home, he remarks, "How sad that I may not be able to finish this garden." Mary volunteers to care for it, but, when the house is sold, Mary and her grandmother release the koi into the ocean and Mary digs up two iris bulbs, which she takes back to her prairie home and plants "for Mr. Hiroshi." Told from a

child's unsophisticated perspective and reinforced by Paul Morin's stunning oil paintings, the story's powerful impact will extend to adult audiences. Trottier reuses this idea of experiencing history through young children in another picture book, *Storm at Batoche*, which she describes as "a work of fiction inspired by the life of Louis Riel." Because the man's surname is never used, for those unfamiliar with history the book reads simply as a straightforward rescue story involving a man and a boy and their waiting out a blizzard before the boy can be returned to his parents.

Love-Lies-Bleeding, by Barbara Haworth-Attard, is a fine girl's coming-of-age story set against the back-

drop of the effects of World War II on the members of a blue-collar London, Ontario, family. In a diary spanning September 12, 1943 to June 26, 1944, Roberta Harrison, thirteen, records happenings of interest, including those external events that intrude upon her life. The diary includes not only adolescent concerns—such as changing friendships and crushes—but also Roberta's anxieties about the safety of her older brother, Alex, and Uncle Billy, both soldiers overseas, plus fear her brother Brian, almost sixteen, will enlist illegally. A Christmas Day, 1943, telegram announces Billy's combat death and Alex's being wounded. Invalided home, Alex is hospitalized, and while his physical wounds have



■ **Love-Lies-Bleeding**

By Barbara Haworth-Attard
Roussan Publishers,
Montreal, 1999
138 pp., \$7.95 paper

■ **Imagine That!**

By Janet Wilson
Stoddart Kids,
Toronto, 2000
32 pp., \$19.95 hardcover

■ **Emily Carr:
Rebel Artist**

By Kate Braid
XYZ Publishing,
Montreal, 2000
178 pp., \$15.95 paper
... and other titles in the
Quest Library Series

■ **The Penguin Book
of Canadian Biography
for Young Readers:
Early Canada**

By Pat Hancock
Viking, Toronto, 1999
242 pp., \$25.00 hardcover

■ **Pier 21: Gateway of Hope**

By Linda Granfield
Tundra Books, Toronto, 2000
48 pp., \$12.99 paper

■ **The Encyclopedia
of the First Peoples of
North America**

By Rayna Green and
Melanie Fernandez
Groundwood, Toronto, 1999
213 pp., \$35.00 hardcover

of the stark realities of trench warfare and primitive frontline medicine, images that will be revelations to today's technologically oriented youth who may conceive war as removed button-pushing.

World War II provides the backdrop to three strong works. Eric Walters's *Caged Eagles* is a sequel to *War of the Eagles*, which focused on the friendship of two fourteen-year-olds, Jed Blackburn and Tadashi Fukushima, who lived on Vancouver Island near the Prince Rupert military base. In 1940, Jed's mixed Caucasian and Tsimshian heritage and Tadashi's Japanese-Canadian parentage were of no real consequence; however, the events of December 7, 1941,

healed, he suffers from "combat exhaustion." During Roberta's hospital visits, she develops a romantic interest in another soldier, George, just eighteen, whose arm has been amputated. Excerpts from letters sent by the author's soldier-father to his family during the war plus candid black-and-white overseas photos add to the text's feeling of authenticity.

Janet Wilson, perhaps best known for her illustrations of Linda Granfield's *In Flanders Fields*, has created her own wonderful picture book, *Imagine That!*, which unites story and history. Wilson's narrative vehicle is a conversation between Auntie Violet, who is celebrating her hundredth birthday, and Elizabeth, her great-grandniece. While she awaits her cake, Violet reminisces about the last century and the changes she has seen and experienced. Each of the book's thirteen double-page spreads deals with a facet of Violet's life, such as entertainment, medicine, or transportation, and Wilson utilizes coloured sidebars, organized by decades, to detail historical facts related to a spread's topic. Taking the book to a yet higher quali-

tative level is its "search-and-find" component by which the sidebar information is linked to Wilson's collage of illustrations, which are also rendered in decade-appropriate colours.

Montreal's XYZ Publishing must be applauded for its boldness in establishing The Quest Library, a series of Canadian biographies directed at high school students. Illustrated with black-and-white photos, the books, to date, have avoided the fault so often found in biographies aimed at juvenile audiences, that of making their subjects into paragons. Highly readable, the series introduces teens to such remarkable people as Norman Bethune, Isaac Brock, Tommy Douglas, Pauline Johnson, George Mercer Dawson, and Agnes Macphail. As in the case of *Emily Carr: Rebel Artist*, subtitles indicate the approach to the subject taken by the biographer.

Readers wanting their biography in smaller bits can turn to Pat Hancock's *The Penguin Book of Canadian Biography for Young Readers: Early Canada*, which addresses the lives of forty-one early Canadians, each in four to eight pages. Readers will meet many

familiar names, such as Cartier, Champlain, and Hudson, and some less recognized, like Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and Josiah Henson.

Those Canadian-born may not fully appreciate the significance of Linda Granfield's *Pier 21*. Subtitled *Gateway of Hope*, the book provides an illustrated history of Pier 21 in Halifax, which, between 1928 and 1971, was the entry point to Canada for more than a million people who elected or were forced to make this nation their new home. Filled with captioned black-and-white candid photos, plus brief text, the book not only chronicles the various groups who came to Canada, such as the war brides, it also examines the process people followed at Pier 21 to achieve landed-immigrant status.

The Encyclopedia of the First Peoples of North America is a one-volume work directed at adolescents in which the entries run alphabetically from "Abenaki" to "Zuni." Generously illustrated with photos, mostly full-colour, plus maps and documents, the work is intended to be "an introduction to Native North American history and culture" from about 1000 A.D. to the present. Ranging in length from a short paragraph to a few pages, the entries, which will pique reader curiosity, deal with both the expected and the unexpected. There are biographical entries for people like Geronimo and Pocahontas, plus subjects such as mask, potlatch, sweetgrass, and medicine bag. More surprising are entries for such subjects as dams, flag, American, tourism, and recycled materials, whose connection to First Nations peoples may not be immediately apparent. However, their inclusion underlines the authors' stance that this is a work about living peoples, not a record just of the past.

Common themes run through these works of Canadian historical fiction and nonfiction, and children and adolescents who explore their contents will come away with soft and hard knowledge about this country's past. More importantly, they will realize that history is a record of people, and not just lists of names and dates. ■

Dave Jenkinson teaches children's and adolescent literature courses in the faculty of education, University of Manitoba and is the editor of *CM: Canadian Review of Materials*, an electronic reviewing journal.

COMING IN FEBRUARY | MARCH

The Beaver

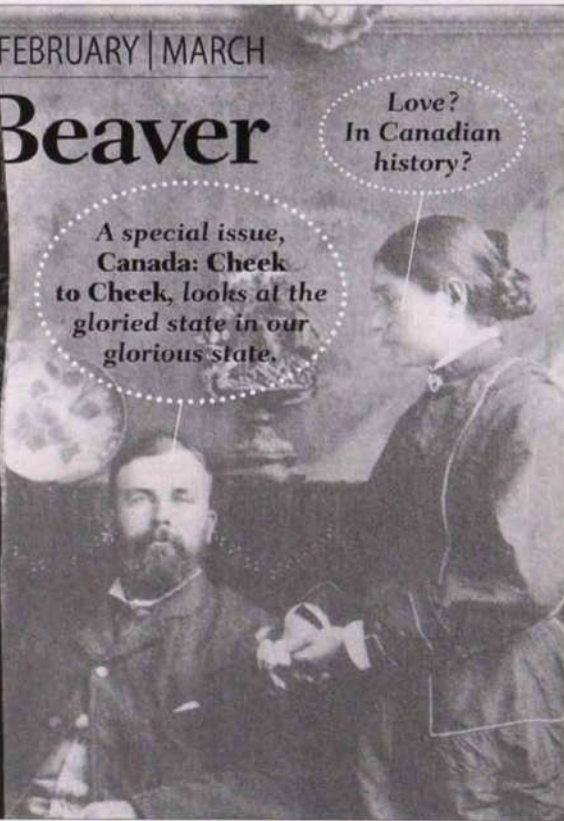
Men Without Women
In a young country, where females are few, what's a poor fur tradin' boy to do?
BY BARBARA HUCK

Looking for the Right One
Finding romance in the personal columns of a prairie newspaper. Excerpts from a new book, *Only the Lonely*.
BY DAN AZOULAY

Honeymoon Capital
There's something about all that falling water that keeps newlyweds drawn to Niagara.
BY KAREN DUBINSKY

A special issue, **Canada: Cheek to Cheek**, looks at the gloried state in our glorious state.

Love? In Canadian history?



Books about the Franklin tragedy continue to abound, each offering its own insights. *Ice Blink* (to be fully reviewed in a forthcoming issue of the *Beaver*), for instance, places blame for the expedition's failure on canned foodstuffs provided by the British suppliers. Incredible—but I was convinced. I was also much taken with *North With Franklin*, a fictional re-creation of the expedition, relating the tale through the eyes—that is, through the journals—of a ship's officer. Its truth I leave to the judgement of readers more fully familiar with all the known facts of the journey. I found the book intriguing, and entirely credible, except for the inclusion, in supposed journals, of extended passages of dialogue. Not even a British naval officer could have remembered and recorded them so fully.

Absolutely required reading for anyone seriously interested in Franklin is *Barrow's Boys*. For forty years after 1815, the British government sent out expeditions of exploration—hot and cold, so to speak, for they went into the jungles of Africa as well as the barrens of the Arctic. The man responsible for all these ventures was John Barrow, second secretary of the Board of Admiralty. Imaginative, aggressive, opinionated, autocratic,

and often totally wrong, he nonetheless was driven by a passionate desire for Britain to lead the world in exploring the unknown, filling in the blanks in the maps of the world. Each expedition Barrow initiated (and found funding for) is evenly described in its historical context. Barrow never went out himself, of course. Author Fergus Fleming nicely sums him up again and again:

In short, the man [Barrow] who had doubted the existence of Baffin Bay was calling the man [Ross] who had mapped it an incompetent, self-serving coward... As so often, Barrow's sense of reality failed him. Crossing the Sahara was a terrible ordeal.... Yet in Barrow's eyes it was as simple as catching a coach to Harrowgate... Scoresby's opinions, though always correct, counted for nothing. He was not a naval man...

And of Franklin beginning his final fatal voyage, Fleming writes: "Here was the Victorian explorer *par excellence*: a brave patriotic, chap, steadfast but daring, manly but emotional, confident but modest, willing to carry the banner of queen and country to the furthest reaches of the world; ready not only to face the void but to stare it down, and to do so in blind, cheerful ignorance."

The Arctic is, naturally, also inhabited by creatures other than human. One of the more intriguing (to humans) is the musk ox. Biologist Peter

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By Fergus Fleming. Atlantic Monthly Press, 2000. \$38.95 hardcover.
- *Muskoxen and Their Hunters: A History*
By Peter C. Lent. University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. US\$57.50 hardcover.
- *Outrageous Seas: Shipwreck and Survival in the Waters Off Newfoundland, 1583–1893*
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By Patrick O'Flaherty. Long Beach Press, 1999. \$29.95 paper.
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By John P. Greene. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999. \$39.95 hardcover.
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By Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford & David Sutherland. Formac Publishing, 1999. \$29.95 paper.

Cowboys, Ranchers and the Cattle Business

Cross-Border Perspectives on Ranching History

\$29.95 sc ISBN 1-55238-021-1

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Lent, who has spent much of his life in the Alaskan Arctic, details its full history in *Muskoxen and Their Hunters*. He begins by tracing the evolution of musk oxen and their interaction with Paleolithic hunters. Perhaps his most interesting chapters are his reports of the impressions of Arctic explorers (the musk ox made good dog food) and of the attempts to develop a hide trade (including the Hudson's Bay Company). His last section deals with conservation concerns. This book told me more about the musk ox than I ever wanted to know—to paraphrase the old line—but I was more interested in the story of the species than I ever realized.

The waters off Newfoundland are the setting, or rather, settings, for seventeen tragic-but-true first-person accounts of shipwrecks, all in *Outrageous Seas*. We apparently cannot get enough of such disaster tales; they never fail to fascinate. As the editor suggests, "individual shipwreck narratives, as stories, are artifacts of micro-history." Each story also reflects the cultural attitudes of its time. In one,

Lady Whitworth-Aylmer exclaims:

Man! noble man! born to resist, and in resisting to overcome: active, he braves the danger Happier lot, I thought, as I sat below, with clasped hands, and painfully attentive ear, listening to the united efforts of every male on board Oh! how I longed once to change my sex: how I wished to be bodily, actively employed! Alas! it was fearfully painful to sit and listen. I could only pray.

Another quotes famed Henry Ward Beecher's sermon on the loss of the ship *Arctic*: "The pilot stood at the wheel, and men saw him. Death sat upon the prow, and no eye beheld him. Whoever stood at the wheel in all the voyage, Death was the pilot that steered the craft."

Newfoundland, Britain's "oldest colony," was never supposed to be a colony at all. Initially government policy explicitly forbade "wintering," that is, settling in Newfoundland. The waters were a source of fish, the shoreline provided sites for fish drying during the summer months, but no Crown subjects were supposed to stay and live on the land. Inevitably more and more men (and some women) did so anyway and established permanent communities. Thus Newfoundland became a colonial responsibility, not simply a commercial resource. As a British possession, it had to be defended. Even more difficult, as a colony, it had to be governed. The story of the groping attempts at governing—or avoiding governing by denying that settlers existed or by urging their forced relocation (like the Acadians)—is chronicled in Patrick O'Flaherty's *Old Newfoundland*. Eventually, in 1729, the Colonial Office took charge, reluctantly establishing a government to prevent "great irregularities, outrages, rapes, felonies, murders and other heinous offences" and "to encourage Virtue." It took another hundred years before an elected assembly was permitted (or even wanted by many merchant residents). The first elections erupted into near chaos with the hostilities between reformers and conservatives, Catholics and Protestants, Irish and others. All in all, the book is

a sad tale of error, bitterness, and missed opportunities. Its all-too-human characters were misguided, prejudiced, and passionate. Read it and weep—and rejoice that this history is now so neatly related.

And if you want more on politics and religion—in Newfoundland the two are always enmeshed—read *Between Damnation and Starvation*. Author John P. Greene's work is more focused and academic than O'Flaherty's, but it is nonetheless quite fascinating, especially in its treatment of the Roman Catholic shift after 1830 to an aggressive and confrontational political stance.

One does not have to live in the Maritimes to relish the area's history, as I learned once more on reading *Halifax: The First 250 Years*. Rarely have I seen a volume which so well combines fine illustrations (dozens of them, many in colour) with clarity of text. Would that all historians could write as well! The book is nicely designed (although its softbound, landscape format makes it difficult to hold and read—my only complaint) and belongs (as does *Old Newfoundland*) in every library that takes its Canadian history section seriously. **X**



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More Books Worth Noting

- **Ancient Cultures, Bountiful Seas: The Story of Port au Choix**
By M.A.P. Renouf. Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (Box 5542, St. John's, Newfoundland, A1C 5W4), 1999. \$19.95 paper.
Five distinct human cultures over five thousand years of habitation are chronicled in a history essentially based on recently uncovered archaeological evidence.
- **Arctic Journal II: A Time for Change**
By Bern Will Brown. Novalis, 1999. \$32.95 hardcover.
The second volume of the life story of a priest ministering to the peoples of Canada's far north.
- **Enemies Within: Italians and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad**
Edited by Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe. University of Toronto Press, 2000. \$65.00 hardcover; \$29.95 paper.
Eighteen scholars often disagree, but this volume urges us to think beyond simplistic accusations about hysteria and xenophobia in the treatment of "enemy aliens" early in World War II.

- *Essays in the History of Canadian Law: In Honour of R.C.B. Risk*
Edited by G. Blaine Baker and Jim Phillips. University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1999. \$75.00 hardcover.

A hefty *festschrift*, nonetheless the individual articles trace some fascinating material – another fine example of an Osgoode Society publication proving how intriguing legal history can be.

- *The History of Fort St. Joseph*
By John Abbott, Graeme S. Mount, and Michael J. Mulloy. Dundurn Press, 2000. \$14.99 paper.

The colourful story of a fort that had its "fifteen minutes of fame" early in the War of 1812 and what has happened to it since.

- *Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching*
By Mary Byers, with photographs by John de Visser. Boston Mills Press, 1999. \$40.00 hardcover.

A well-written and splendidly illustrated tour around two lakes central to Ontario's history, with major emphasis on the century from 1850–1950.

- *The Life of a River*
By Andy Russell. McClelland & Stewart, 2000. \$19.99 paper.

A new edition of an important book, an imaginative narrative of the history of Alberta's Oldman River and of the life, especially the human life, that has depended on it.

- *The Making and Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord, 1921–1996*

By Brian Young. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000. \$65.00 hardcover; \$24.95 paper.

The sad story of the stress of Montreal's McCord Museum of Canadian History, written by one who served on its board in the early 1990s.

- *Manitoba Medicine: A Brief History*
By Ian Carr & Robert E. Beamish. University of Manitoba Press, 1999. \$22.95 paper.

After a brief glance at aboriginal medicine, the authors trace the development of western, European medical practice, especially during the last hundred years.

- *Obligation and Opportunity: Single Maritime Women in Boston, 1870–1930*

By Betsy Beattie. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000. \$65.00 hardcover; \$22.95 paper.

A focused scholarly study of two generations of working women in Boston whose income continued to

support their farm families back in the Maritimes.

- *On Tap: The Odyssey of Beer and Brewing in Victorian London-Middlesex*

By Glen C. Phillips. Cheshire Cat Press, 2000. \$29.95 paper.

The histories of two world-famous breweries, Carling's and Labatt's – and of dozens of lesser-known breweries in Ontario's Middlesex County – are traced, accompanied by splendid descriptions of the chemistry and technology of nineteenth-century brewing.

- *Port Coquitlam: Where Rails Meet Rivers*

By Chuck Davis. Harbour Publishing, 2000. \$39.95 hardcover.

Now a proud British Columbian city, PoCo, as its citizens call it, celebrates its history in words and pictures.

- *Skippers of the Sky: The Early Years of Bush Flying*
Edited by William J. Wheeler. Fifth House, 2000. \$29.95 hardcover.

Daring missions and amusing stories remembered by the pilots who flew the North, serving miners and prospectors, trappers and hunters, natives and government officials, tourists and missionaries.

- *Social Discredit: Anti-Semitism, Social Credit and the Jewish Response*
By Janine Stingel. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000. \$39.95 hardcover.

Central to Social Credit's economic theory, even in Alberta, was the notion of an international Jewish conspiracy – a charge that Canadian Jews were not always effective in contesting.

- *There It Is: A Canadian in the Vietnam War*

By Les D. Brown. McClelland & Stewart, 2000. \$31.99 hardcover.

The personal story, told with simple honesty, of just one of the twenty to forty thousand Canadians who fought with the Americans in Vietnam.

- *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Winterer*
Edited by Barbara Belyea. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000. \$39.95 hardcover.

Four very different copies – but no original – in the HBC archives are compared and fully discussed. Of interest not only for their content, but for the scholarly consideration of the varying versions.

Museum Profile

The Yarmouth County Historical Society was established in 1935 to preserve data, records, and artifacts relating to the history of Yarmouth County. In 1967 the **Yarmouth County Museum** moved to its present home, a beautiful granite church built in 1893.

Here, in this registered heritage building, the director/curator oversees the third-largest collection of ship portraits in Canada, an extensive costume collection, and numerous rare items of historic importance to the region. The society also maintains the largest noninstitutional archives in Nova Scotia, under the care of a full-time archivist.

In 1996 Mary Primrose Pelton Fuller (Mrs. Alfred C. Fuller, wife of "The Fuller Brush Man") donated her gracious Victorian home, with contents, to the society. Adjacent to the museum, this lovely house is open to the public for tours during summer months.

In 1999–2000, phase one of a museum and archives expansion was completed. THE PRESERVATION WING houses state-of-the-art, climate-controlled storage facilities for irreplaceable artifacts and archival materials, as well as new display space and various offices. A spacious RESEARCH CENTRE has been created in the Victorian home to the east of the new preservation wing.

The Yarmouth County Historical Society operates these facilities, maintains several regional historic sites, and promotes county history through publications, speakers, exhibits, outreach, educational programs, and monthly public meetings. We are open year round.

Yarmouth County Museum

22 Collins Street, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia B5A 3C8

For information contact:

Telephone: (902) 742-5539 Fax: (902) 749-1120

E-mail: <ycn0056@ycn.library.ns.ca>



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- Saskatchewan Western Development Museum, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, Yorkton
- Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg

- Dalnavert Museum, Winnipeg
- Western Canada Aviation Museum, Winnipeg
- McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal
- Pointe à Calière, Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal
- Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, QC
- New Brunswick Museum, Saint John
- Yarmouth County Museum, Yarmouth, NS

A discount of at least 10 percent on regular admission will be given upon presentation of your membership card. Some restrictions may apply. All subscribers to the *Beaver* are automatically members of the Society.

History on the Road

The serendipitous link the historic site at Louisbourg has created between North American collectors and the artisans of Jingdezhen seems simply a globe-spanning version of a growing trend.



CHRISTOPHER MASON

underpinning of that traditional art and craft comes from Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.

If you visit Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site, you can see just another facet in Parks Canada's effort to reconstruct all aspects of daily life there—lovely displays of delicately shaped and exquisitely painted Jingdezhen ware. (This summer, in fact, a festival of Jingdezhen ware attracted fifteen thousand visitors to the fortress.) Each piece has been hand made and decorated by the artisans of Jingdezhen, who are once again reaching a market on the other side of the world, much as they did centuries ago. If you want a slightly exotic souvenir of your visit to that Atlantic Canadian hub of eighteenth-century commerce and conflict, you can take home your own piece.

We did, in fact. We brought a piece of Jingdezhen porcelain home from Louisbourg this summer. Every time I look at it, I find myself considering the remarkable niches that history opens up in the modern tourist economy.

We took a rather traditional family driving holiday in Nova Scotia during the summer. Nova Scotia was looking its best. I've been fond of the place

There's a town in south China called Jingdezhen that has devoted itself to pottery for at least a thousand years. More than two hundred and fifty years ago, Jingdezhen was China's leading exporter of porcelain. Jingdezhen "china," much of it already custom-designed to suit European tastes in tableware, found its way to markets around the world.

One of the many far-flung places this china reached in the early 1700s was Louisbourg, the French seaport and military base on the east coast of Cape Breton Island in what is now Nova Scotia. The archaeologists of the Louisbourg historic site have grown used to finding shards of blue-and-white Chinese porcelain in their digs. Their artifact collection now includes

a handsome array of painstakingly reassembled pieces of Chinese porcelain, along with only slightly less exotic pottery from France and Britain and many other European producers.

In 1997, Andrée Crépeau, head of Louisbourg's archaeology program, displayed some of Louisbourg's pottery artifacts at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design in Halifax. There she met Li-Jiansheng, a visiting artist at the college. Li said, in effect: "That is Jingdezhen pottery. We still make it there. Would you like us to make you some?" Yes, please, said Andrée Crépeau.

Mass-production pottery factories dominate modern Jingdezhen. But pottery is part of the town's cultural tradition, and ancient skills of porcelain-making are cherished and preserved. Today, part of the economic

since I lived there in the 1970s, but coming back as a visitor, I was struck by the *intensification* of the visitor experience. Anywhere we travelled—and our route included both Bay St. Lawrence and Yarmouth, pretty much the opposite poles of the province—it was much easier than it used to be to find good places to eat, a range of decent places to stay, a remarkably effective tourist-information system, and, always, many things for a roving family to see and to do. Everywhere, the Nova Scotia tourist economy seemed highly developed, yet retaining an indigenous feel, not yet overwhelmed with big chain hotels, restaurants, and attractions.

Nova Scotia is well provided with "classic" historic site destinations—Halifax's Citadel, Louisbourg, Sherbrooke Village. We enjoyed a lot of them. Other places, like Lunenburg or Annapolis Royal, hardly need a specific "must visit" attraction. The real draw is the town itself, alive with colour, busy with restaurants and shops and galleries, a place that has made itself a destination simply by preserving something of the way it used to be.

Everywhere, the historical "draw" has begun to support other activities—and not just the obvious ones, like the growing numbers of restaurants and bed-and-breakfast businesses. There is a theatre in the town of Louisbourg now, and night after night visitors who have come to see the fortress crowd in with local people to see local entertainers. It's become another stop on the lively circuit that supports the island's burgeoning Celtic-fusion music scene.

Similarly, artists from the region find the historic sites become customers for reproduction artifacts, while visitors to the historic sites become customers for the same artists' own works. Then there are books. I have a couple of books of my own about Atlantic Canadian history, so perhaps I take a special interest. Still, the extraordinary variety of local-history books in every gift shop is testimony to how much tourism and local history sustain each other.

These days, cultural tourism offers a lot more than T-shirts. Often, our holidaying family seemed to be participating in an interchange—a lively and

positive one—between history and contemporary culture. The serendipitous link the historic site at Louisbourg has created between North American collectors and the artisans of Jingdezhen seems simply a globe-spanning version of a growing trend.

When I floated these optimistic thoughts before my academic friends, however, they usually countered with some reference to Ian McKay's 1994 book about Nova Scotia culture and commerce, *The Quest of the Folk*. McKay is unsentimental about the roots of the Nova Scotia tourist economy of the province. His is a story of how folklorists and promoters invented Nova Scotia for the tourists. They turned fishing communities where life was grim and rife with exploitation into a series of Peggy's Cove photo opportunities. "Tartanizing" a no-tears version of Scottish heritage, they covered up urban issues, class conflicts, women's experience, and anything else that was difficult or unpalatable.

Well, yes, tourism edits and promotes. But, in fact, the very intensity of historic-site development now means that the Acadian deportation looms over everything in the Annapolis valley. The crisis of the fishery is the subtext of everything one sees at Lunenburg's terrific fisheries museum. Africville may be gone from Halifax, but not from its museums and book-

racks. And the Louisbourg-Jingdezhen link is an engagement between history and contemporary culture no tourist promoter could have planned or predicted.

Frankly, I was more struck by the subtlety of the history/culture connections we encountered in Nova Scotia than by their fraudulence. I suspect that is the case in all the many parts of Canada where cultural tourism is an increasingly valuable and important part of the local community. ■

Louisbourg's Jingdezhen ware can be seen and purchased at Louisbourg and selected ceramics galleries in North America or online at <www.compu-clone.ns.ca/~fortress>. *The Quest of the Folk* by Ian McKay was published by McGill-Queen's Press in 1994. Christopher Moore's *Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town*, with a new Afterword, was republished by McClelland & Stewart this fall.

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Album

Doug Whiteway, who submitted this photograph, is the associate editor of the *Beaver*. His sister was the girl in the picture.

Shrine The cat died in 1979, aged nineteen. The girl died in 1994, aged forty-one – no longer a girl, of course. And the man in the pictures that adorn the walls of this suburban Winnipeg bedroom in spring 1968? He died late September, just before his eighty-first birthday.

The cat is unimportant. The man you know. And who is the girl? One of thousands and thousands of Canadian girls who fell in love that spring – not with a boy in their class or a pop star on *Ed Sullivan*, but with a man soon to be fifty years old, a bachelor with a *joli-laid* visage, an enigmatic grace, a beguiling voice, and ideas that seemed to capture the spirit of the age. She would paper the bedroom with his posters, skip school to see him at rallies, and with a friend or two that year haunt the airport when she knew (almost by osmosis, it seemed) he would be arriving.

At that age, passions soon exhaust themselves. Real flesh-and-blood males came into view, and the posters eventually came down. But are first loves ever forgotten? Unbidden, fond memory of face or gesture occasionally slips into our everyday dreams. When your first love is prime minister

for more than a third of your life, you have television as your aide-mémoire. And when you find your life turned upside down by disability, as will happen to the girl in the picture the year the Constitution is signed, you won't struggle to recall one of his passions from those long-ago days – the Just Society – because it will have become your passion. Nan, if only you could have been here to wish Pierre goodbye. ■



Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in our country's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied at your local photo shop (please don't send priceless originals) and send it to: Album, c/o *The Beaver*, #478–167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your copy returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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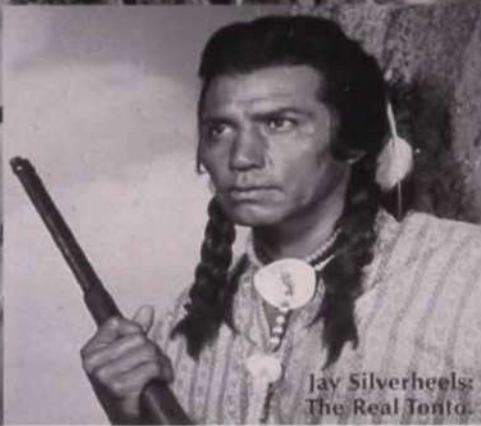
The Great Farini:
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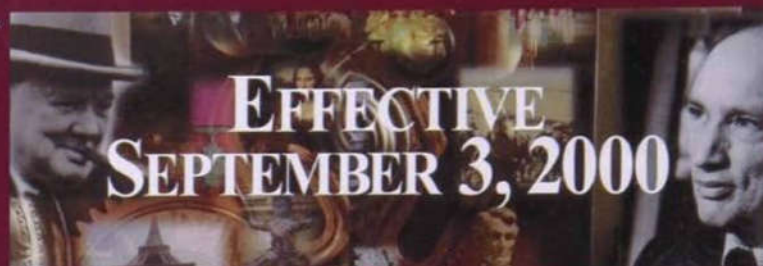
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7:00 AM	TURNING POINTS OF HISTORY					CROWN AND COUNTRY	GREAT TRAIN
7:30 AM						CROWN AND COUNTRY	STORIES
8:00 AM	THE CAMPBELLS					SENSE OF HISTORY	SENSE OF HISTORY
8:30 AM	A SCATTERING OF SEEDS					ORIGINS	ORIGINS
9:00 AM	SKETCHES OF OUR TOWN					CANADIAN HISTORY	THE 20TH CENTURY
9:30 AM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY						
10:00 AM	SKETCHES OF OUR TOWN						
10:30 AM	HISTORYLANDS						
11:00 AM	COMBAT					ANCIENT HISTORY	HISTORY OF WAR
11:30 AM							
12:00 PM	TURNING POINTS OF HISTORY					DOCUMENTARIES	DOCUMENTARIES
12:30 PM							
1:00 PM							
1:30 PM	HISTORY ON FILM						
2:00 PM							
2:30 PM							
3:00 PM	SPIES						
3:30 PM							
4:00 PM	DESTINATION: HISTORY						
4:30 PM							
5:00 PM	COMBAT					WORLD'S BEST MINI-SERIES	TREASURE SEEKERS
5:30 PM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY						BATTLE STRIPES
6:00 PM							
6:30 PM	TRUE ACTION ADVENTURES						BATTLE STRIPES
7:00 PM	A SCATTERING OF SEEDS					GREAT TRAIN STORIES	TREASURE SEEKERS
7:30 PM	HISTORYLANDS						
8:00 PM	TURNING POINTS OF HISTORY					CROWN AND COUNTRY	DOCUMENTARIES
8:30 PM						CROWN AND COUNTRY	
9:00 PM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAYS	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
9:30 PM							
10:00 PM							
10:30 PM	TOUR OF DUTY				HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
11:00 PM							
11:30 PM							
12:00 AM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAYS	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
12:30 AM							
1:00 AM							
1:30 AM	TOUR OF DUTY				HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
2:00 AM							
2:30 AM							
3:00 AM	A CENTURY OF CONFLICT					CROWN AND COUNTRY	BATTLE STRIPES
3:30 AM						CROWN AND COUNTRY	BATTLE STRIPES
4:00 AM	TRUE ACTION ADVENTURES					WESTERN MOVIE	DOCUMENTARIES
4:30 AM	SPIES						
5:00 AM	COMBAT						
5:30 AM							
6:00 AM	A CENTURY OF CONFLICT						
6:30 AM							

Program changes may occur.

